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WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 14, 1848.

For the National Era.

SKETCHES OF MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

No. 14.—*John Cartwright—Writes in favor of American Independence—Refuses to serve against "the Rebels"—The Father of Parliamentary Reform—His Account of the Trials of Hardy and Tooke—Lord Byron's Eulogium of him—His opinions of the Slave Trade—The first English advocate of the Ballot—His Conviction for Conspiracy—His labors for Grecian and Mexican Independence.*

Grant to the people of England universal suffrage and equal Parliamentary representation, and all other reforms will ultimately follow. The present century has taught the masses and the statesmen of that country, that, to wield influence over its Government, it is not necessary to occupy official stations. I am about to note some occurrences in the life of one who taught and illustrated the truth, that power and place are not synonymous terms—one who exerted much sway over public affairs for fifty years, and may justly be called the father of Parliamentary reform—one whose services were wholly of a popular character, he never having held office. I allude to JOHN CARTWRIGHT. Unlike most men who have spent their lives in creating public sentiment, without ever having been surrounded with the pomp and glare of exalted station, a faithful record of his services has been given to the world in his published Life and Correspondence. I shall be excused for availing myself freely of this biography of a private individual, as heretofore in these sketches I have been so generally confined to reformers who have enacted their parts on a more conspicuous theatre.

Mr. Cartwright was born in 1740. He entered the navy as a midshipman, saw a great deal of hard fighting, reached the post of first lieutenant, became distinguished for his science and skill in the service, and at the age of 34 abandoned the seas, and turned his mind to politics. In 1774, he published *Letters on American Independence*, addressed to the House of Commons, in which he took radical ground in favor of the rights of the Colonies. "It is a capital error," says he, "in the reasonings of most writers on this subject, (the rights of man,) that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate or chattel, and go about to prove or disprove the right to it, by grants, usage, or municipal statutes. It is not among mouldy parchments that we are to look for it; it is the immediate gift of God; it is not derived from any one, but it is original in every one." Here we have the pioneer idea of our own Declaration of Independence, uttered by an unknown Englishman two years before that immortal paper saw the light. In 1776, an event occurred which put Major Cartwright's principles (he had been appointed a major in the Nottinghamshire militia) to a severe test. He was always proud of the navy, and ambitious of promotion in the service. Lord Howe, who had witnessed his courage and skill, having taken command of the fleet to act against the American Colonies, urged Cartwright to take a captaincy of a line of battle ship. He was then paying his addresses to a lady of high family, whose friends would consent to her accepting his hand if he would accede to the proposal of Lord Howe. He declined, thereby losing the favor both of Mars and Hymen. This led to an acquaintance with the gallant Lord Effingham, an officer of the army, who proved himself a genuine nobleman by resigning his commission rather than act against "the rebels."

Cartwright now (1776) commenced the work to which he devoted the remaining years of his laborious and useful life—*Parliamentary Reform.* At the outset, he took the ground now occupied by the Chartists. In his first two pamphlets—and they were the earliest English productions on reform in the House of Commons—he maintained that equal representation, universal suffrage, and annual elections, were rights inherent in the body of the people. His system closely resembled that engrafted upon the United States Constitution twelve years later. This shows him a man of rare sagacity for the times, far in advance of his contemporaries, and not a whit behind the most radical American patriots. The next year, he presented an address to the King, urging peace with his Colonies, and a union with them on the basis of independent States. He organized, the same year, England's first association for promoting Parliamentary reform, called the "Society for Political Inquiry." With some modifications, and a change of name, it was the same to which Tooke and his associates belonged when tried for High Treason, in 1794. Soon after, Cartwright stood twice for Parliament, but was unsuccessful, partly on account of his radical principles, and partly because he would not stoop to any form of bribery, not even "treating," declaring that "he would not spend a single shilling to influence the electors."

Continuing to agitate the country by occasional pamphlets, speeches, and an extensive correspondence—he was one of the most indefatigable and determined of men—in 1780–'1, he organized in London the celebrated "Society for Constitutional Information," which enrolled among its members many of the first minds of the Kingdom—Sheridan, Grey, (who, fifty years afterwards, carried the Reform bill through Parliament,) Dr. Price, and Sir John Sinclair, (the correspondents of Jefferson and Franklin,) Granville Sharp, Stratford Canning, the Duke of Richmond, and other statesmen and philanthropists. Major Cartwright wrote the first address of the Society. It had a wide circulation, and received the high encomiums of Sir William Jones, who said it ought to be engraven upon gold. The ship of Reform now glided on smoothly, Cartwright being the chief pilot, when the French Revolution burst upon the world. He hailed it as the dawn of a political millenium, and, filled with joy, he addressed a congratulatory and advisory letter to the French National Assembly. But, the skies of France, so bright at the rising of the Revolutionary sun, soon became darkened, and the clouds poured down blood and fire upon the land, covering the friends of liberty in England with sorrow and dismay. The Reign of Terror in France was followed by a Reign of Terror in England. In the former, the victims were royalists. In the latter, radicals. In the former, Robespierre and the guillotine executed vengeance. In the latter, George III and the Court of King's Bench. Large numbers erased their names from the proscribed roll of the Constitutional Society. Cartwright, Tooke, and a resolute band, resolved to stand by their principles and pledges, and brave the royal anger, come life, come death. The particulars of the struggle, I have already given. The indictments of Tooke and his eleven associates for High Treason, in 1794—their long imprisonment in the Tower, previous to the trials—the despair which paled the cheeks of the reformers throughout the Kingdom—the insolence of the minions of the Crown, impatient for vengeance—the desperate conflicts at the Old Bailey—the heroic exertions, the splendid displays of Erskine before the court and juries—the acquittal of the prisoners—the shouts of popular triumph which rent the air and penetrated the recesses of the royal closet at St. James—all these are freshly remembered, and they cry in the ear of the anointed tyranny which sacrifices the Joneses and the Mitchells of our day, "BEWARE!"

Some of Cartwright's friends besought him to stand aloof from Tooke and his "brother traitors." He was too brave and true a man to desert his associates in the ordeal hour. He addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, asking permission to visit Tooke in the Tower, avowing that it had been the greatest pleasure of his life to coöperate with him for Parliamentary reform; and if his friend was a felon, and worthy of death, so was he. He has left interesting memoranda of the trials at the Old Bailey. He says, "Gibbs spoke like an angel" in Hardy's case, and that Erskine became so exhausted, towards the close of the trial, that, in arguing incidental points to the Court, an intermediate person had to repeat what he said to the judges. He conveyed intelligence of the result of Hardy's case to his family in the country, in terms as terse as Cæsar's celebrated military despatch: "*Hardy is acquitted.—J. C.*" He was a witness in Tooke's case. On the cross-examination of the Attorney General, though cautioned by the court not to criminate himself, he scorned all concealment, avowing that the objects of the Constitutional Society were to obtain equal representation, universal suffrage, and annual Parliaments, and replying to the caution of the judges, that "he came there not to state what was prudent, but what was true." When questioned about some expressions of his, as to "strangling the vipers aristocracy and monopoly," he said he had no recollection of using the terms, but, if he had, and they were applied to aristocracies and monarchies hostile to liberty, he thought them well deserved. He says Tooke grappled with the prosecuting counsel with the strength and courage of a lion. When a paper was produced, and Tooke was asked to admit his handwriting, the Chief Justice cautioned him not to do so hastily. Turning to his Lordship, he said, "I protest, before God, that I have never done an action, never written a sentence, in public or private, never entertained a thought on any political subject, which, taken fairly, with all the circumstances of time, occasion, and place, I have the smallest hesitation to admit." How the stout-hearted integrity of such men, in such a trying hour, puts to eternal shame the servile tricks and fawning arts of the common scum of office-hunting politicians!

The treason trials of 1794 being over, Cartwright resumed his work, urging his reformatory schemes with his wonted vigor. For some eight years, he seems to have been the only active man of character and standing in the enterprise—the others having cowered before the persecuting spirit of the times. In 1802, a ludicrous occurrence showed the suspicious state of the Governmental mind. The Major had a brother, Dr. George Cartwright, who was celebrated as a mechanician, being the inventor of the power loom, and other valuable machines. He had taken out patents for these—these had been extensively infringed—and he had commenced suits against the violators. The Major was assisting him in procuring evidence; and for that purpose he had despatched an agent to Yorkshire, with a letter of instructions, which had a good deal to say about *levers, cranks, rollers,* and *screws.* The messenger was arrested as a joint conspirator with the Major for the overthrow of his Majesty's Government, by means of some "infernal machine"—the phrases in the letter being interpreted to cover a dark design to "put the screws" on the King! Ascertaining that his agent was in *limbo*, Cartwright wrote to the Attorney General, offering to explain the matter. The Crown officer was not to be caught so. Indict and hang the conspirator he would, in spite of power looms and militia majors. At length the facts became known, and the astute Attorney was glad to back out of the ridiculous scrape by an apologetic letter to the parties.

It would require a volume to record all that our patriot did for Parliamentary reform from 1804, when it had a limited revival, till 1824, when he died. Though he was 64 years old at the commencement of this period, and 84 at its close, he did more during these twenty years to procure for Englishmen their electoral rights, than any other ten persons in the Kingdom. He published scores of pamphlets, written in a style, bold, lucid, and going to the roots of the controversy; convened hundreds of meetings in all parts of the country, to which he addressed able speeches; sent thousands of petitions to Parliament; formed numerous societies; and conducted a never flagging correspondence with the leading friends of liberty and reform. In 1810, he sold his farm and removed to London, that "he might be near his work." Brave old heart of oak, of three score years and ten! The next year, thirty-eight persons were seized at Manchester while attending a reform meeting, and sent fifty miles to prison, on a charge of sedition. Cartwright went down to aid in preparing their defence and attend the examination. Having procured their release, he took a circuitous route home, getting up meetings and petitions on the tour. He was arrested, taken before a magistrate, his papers and person searched, when, finding nothing worthy of death or bonds upon him, he was discharged. Vainly endeavoring to obtain a copy of the warrant on which he was arrested, he subsequently presented the case by petition to the House of Peers. Lord Byron, the poet, in supporting the petition, said of him: "He is a man, my lords, whose long life has been spent in one unceasing struggle for the liberty of the subject, against that undue influence of the Crown which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to his political tenets, few will be found to question the integrity of his intentions. Even now, oppressed with years, and not exempt from the infirmities attendant on age, but unimpaired in talent, and unshaken in spirit, *frangas, non flectes,* he has received many a wound in the combat against corruption; and the new grievance, the fresh insult, of which he now complains, may inflict another scar, but no dishonor."

In 1814, he addressed a series of letters to Clarkson on the slave trade—he having taken an active part in the contest for its abolition—in which he argued that it should be punished as piracy, a doctrine which he was the first to broach. He also wrote against bribery at elections, and in favor of voting by ballot, being the first English advocate of that measure. A year or two after this, a mercenary widow of one of his old Scotch correspondents, wrote to him that the Government had offered her a large sum if she would give up his letters—adding, significantly, that the circumstances of her family were such, that she thought she should comply with the offer. He extinguished her hopes of extorting money from him, by informing her, that "it gave him great satisfaction to find that any of his letters were esteemed so valuable, and begged her to make the best bargain she could of their contents." In 1816, the great number and imposing character of the demonstrations in favor of Parliamentary reform alarmed the Government. Canning, in the House of Commons, denounced Cartwright as "that old heart in London, from which the viens of sedition in the country are supplied." The Kingdom was in a flame—the *habeas corpus* act was suspended—and the "Six Acts," aimed at the Irish Catholic associations, and the English reform meetings, were adopted. Cobbett, the editor of the Register, fled to America. Others left their ears on the pillory at home, or carried them at the request of the Government to Botany Bay. Cartwright, who never flinched from friend or foe, stood his ground, and contrived new modes to keep up the agitation, evading the recent law against "tumultuous petitioning," by getting up *petitions of twenties*, and in various ways avoiding the prohibitions of the "Six Acts."

So far, he had kept out of the fangs of the law, excepting in the affair of searching his person. But, the Attorney General had his eye upon him. In 1819, he participated in the famous Birmingham proceedings, which resulted in the appointment, on his suggestion, of a "Legislatorial Attorney" for the town, who was to present a letter to the Speaker of the Commons, as its representative. This measure of "sending a petition in the form of a living man, instead of one on parchment," as he called it, precipitated the long expected crisis. He was indicted for conspiracy and sedition, in Warwickshire. So soon as he heard of it, he set off by post to meet the charge, travelling 100 miles in a single day, though then bowed down with the weight of four score years. Putting in bail, he returned to London, and resumed his work. Soon after, he presided at the reform meeting, drew up a petition couched in the most energetic terms, signed it, sent it to the Commons, and then set about exposing the attempts of the Crown officers to pack the jury which was to try him. The trial took place in August, 1820. He called no witnesses; addressed the jury mainly in defence of his principles; was convicted; was not called up for sentence till the next May; when the judge, after eulogizing his general character, condemned him to pay a fine of £100, and stand committed till it was paid. He immediately pulled out a canvass bag, counted down the money in gold, slyly remarking to the Sheriff, that "they were all *good sovereigns.*"

When the heroic struggles of Greece, South America, and Mexico, resounded through Europe, they had no more attentive listener than Major Cartwright. Seizing his never idle pen, he wrote "Hints to the Greeks"—a letter to the President of the Greek Congress—and another to the Greek Deputies. About the same time, he opened his doors to two of the liberal leaders in the Spanish Revolution, who had sought refuge in England. His sun was now declining. He had attended his last reform meeting in 1823; he wrote his last political pamphlet in 1824. In July of this year, he received a letter from Mr. Jefferson, who said, "Your age of eighty-four and mine of eighty-one years, insure us a speedy meeting; we may then commune at leisure on the good and evil which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed." He had taken a deep interest in the Mexican struggles for liberty, and frequently conferred with General Michelena, its envoy then in London, upon its affairs. On the 21st of September, 1824, the General sent to inform him that the scheme of Iturbide had failed, and that the liberty of Mexico might be considered as established. Two days afterwards, "the patriarch of Parliamentary reform" died, retaining his faculties and his fervent love of freedom to the last. He cheerfully resigned himself into the hands of his Maker, exclaiming, "God's will be done!"

H. B. S.

BAYARD TAYLOR.

We find in the Home Journal the following pleasing and graceful verses, from the pen of this young writer. They present a marked contrast to the vigor and freedom of imagination manifested by the same writer in his "Norseman's Ride," a poem which reflects the cold, wintry splendor of an Arctic night, and which boldly ventures into the wild and solemn extravagance of Northern fiction. These lines, on the contrary, are well in keeping with the warmth and light and music of an Italian sunset. J. G. W.

IN ITALY.

Dear Lillian, all I wished is won—
I sit beneath Italia's sun!
Where olive orchards gleam and quiver
Along the banks of Arno's river.

Through laurel leaves the dim green light
Falls on my forehead as I write;
And the sweet chimes of vespers, ringing,
Blend with the contadina's singing.

Rich is the soil with Fancy's gold;
The stirring memories of old
Rise thronging in my haunted vision,
And raise my spirit's young ambition!

But as the radiant sunsets close
Above Val d'Arno's bowers of rose,
My soul forgets the olden glory,
And dreams our love a dearer story.

Thy words in Memory's ear outchime
The music of the Tuscan rhyme;
Thou standest here—the gentle-hearted—
Amid the shades of bards departed!

Their garlands, of immortal bay,
I see before thee fade away,
And turn from Petrarch's passion-glances
To my own dearer heart-romances!

Sad is the opal glow that fires
The midnight of the cypress spires,
And cold the scented wind that closes
The hearts of bright Etruscan roses!

The fair Italian dream I chased,
A single thought of thee effaced;
For the true clime of song and sun
Lies in the heart which mine hath won!

A FAIR HIT.

A Washington correspondent of the New Orleans Delta thus speaks of Mr. Senator Foote, who has acquired the unenviable soubriquet of the "common hangman:"

"Foote, the polite and courteous, was walking about the chamber this morning, declaring that the Union was dissolved. I don't know what put it in his head, unless it was that Wisconsin has instructed her Senators to vote against the acquisition of slave territory, which he may consider as a virtual dissolution of the Union. Perhaps the intense heat of the weather may have affected his brain. People talk now of the dissolution of the Union with full as much indifference as a profligate son speaks of the dissolution of a rich father. A friend sitting on my left, who heard Foote speaking, handed me the following impromptu, which I send to you:

With furious blaze the solar rays
Poured on the legislative dome;
The conscript sires, in wild amaze,
Roared—some for ice, and some for home.

Lewis grew thin—and Foote, whose skin
And ribs hold close communion,
To Dickins cried, "Pay me my tin—
This day dissolves the Union."

Johnson made strange and sad grimaces;
Calhoun seem'd lapsing into phthisis—
One mourn'd his unexported cases,
The other smelt "an awful crisis."

Taylor and Cass have had their day;
The fiery surge comes fiercer, sterner;
Let the two candidates give way—
The Sun himself has turn'd Barnburner!

HYDROPHOBIA.—The following is said to be a preventive of hydrophobia, discovered by a French physician, M. Cossar: Take two table-spoons full of fresh chloride of lime, in powder, mix it with half a pint of water, and with this wash keep the wound constantly bathed, and frequently renewed. The chlorine gas possesses the power of decomposing this tremendous poison, and renders mild and harmless that venom against whose resistless attack the artillery of medical science has been so long directed in vain. It is necessary to add, that this wash should be applied as soon as possible after the infliction of the bite. The following are the results of this treatment: From 1810 to 1824, the number of persons admitted into the Breslau Hospital, 174, of whom only two died; 1783 to 1837, into the Hospital at Zurich, 223 persons, bitten by different animals, (132 by dogs,) of whom only four died.

SLAVERY AND THE TERRITORIES.

SPEECH OF MR. HORACE MANN, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

In the House of Representatives, June 30, 1848,

On the right of Congress to legislate for the Territories of the United States, and its duty to exclude slavery therefrom.

Mr. MANN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have listened with interest, both yesterday and to-day, to speeches on what is called the "Presidential question." I propose to discuss a question of far greater magnitude—the question of the age—one whose consequences will not end with the ensuing four years, but will reach forward to the setting of the sun of time.

Sir, our position is this: The United States finds itself the owner of a vast region of country at the West, now almost vacant of inhabitants. Parts of this region are salubrious and fertile. We have reason to suppose that, in addition to the treasures of wealth which industry may gather from its surface, there are mineral treasures beneath it—riches garnered up of old in subterranean chambers, and only awaiting the application of intelligence and skill to be converted into the means of human improvement and happiness. These regions, it is true, lie remote from our place of residence. Their shores are washed by another sea, and it is no figure of speech to say that another sky bends over them. So remote are they, that their hours are not as our hours, nor their day as our day; and yet, such are the wonderful improvements in art, in modern times, as to make it no rash anticipation that before this century shall have closed, the inhabitants on the Atlantic shores will be able to visit their brethren on the Pacific in ten days; and that intelligence will be transmitted and returned, between the Eastern and the Western Oceans, in ten minutes. That country, therefore, will be rapidly filled, and we shall be brought into intimate relations with it; and, notwithstanding its distance, into proximity to it.

Now, in the Providence of God, it has fallen to our lot to legislate for this unoccupied, or but partially occupied, expanse. Its great Future hangs upon our decision. Not only degrees of latitude and longitude, but vast tracts of time—ages and centuries—seem at our disposal. As are the institutions which we form and establish there, so will be the men whom these institutions, in their turn, will form. Nature works by fixed laws; but we can bring this or that combination of circumstances under the operation of her laws, and thus determine results. Here springs up our responsibility. One class of institutions will gather there one class of men, who will develop one set of characteristics; another class of institutions will gather there another class of men, who will develop other characteristics. Hence, their futurity is to depend upon our present course. Hence, the acts we are to perform seem to partake of the nature of creation, rather than of legislation. Standing upon the elevation which we now occupy, and looking over into that empty world, "yet void," if not "without form," but soon to be filled with multitudinous life, and reflecting upon our power to give form and character to that life, and almost to foreordain what it shall be, I feel as though it would be no irreverence to compare our condition to that of the Creator before he fashioned the "lord" of this lower world; for we, like Him, can ingraft one set of attributes, or another set of attributes, upon a whole race of men. In approaching this subject, therefore, I feel a sense of responsibility corresponding to the infinite—I speak literally—the *infinite* interests which it embraces.

As far as the time allowed me will permit, I propose to discuss two questions. The first is: "*Whether Congress can lawfully legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories?*"

On this question, a new and most extraordinary doctrine has lately been broached. A new reading of the Constitution has been discovered. It is averred that the 3d section of the 4th article, giving Congress power "to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States," only gives power to legislate for the land *as land*—geologically or botanically considered—perhaps for the beasts that roam upon its surface, or the fishes that swim in its waters; but it is denied that Congress possesses any power to determine the laws and the institutions of those who shall inhabit that "land."

But compare this with any other object of purchase or possession. When Texas was admitted into the Union, it transferred its "navy" to the United States; in other words, the United States bought, and of course owned, the navy of Texas. What power had Congress over this navy after the purchase? According to the new doctrine, it could pass laws for the hull, the masts, and the sails of the Texan ships, but would have no power to navigate them by officers and men. It might govern the ships as so much wood, iron, and cordage, but would have no authority over commanders or crews.

But we are challenged to show any clause in the Constitution which confers an *express* power to legislate over the Territories we possess. I challenge our opponents to show any clause which confers express power to acquire those Territories themselves. If, then, the power to acquire exists, it exists by implication and inference; and if the power to *acquire* be an implied one, the power to govern what is acquired must be implied also. For, for what purpose does any man acquire property, but to govern and control it? What does a buyer pay for, if it be not the right to "dispose of?" Such is the doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States: "The right to govern," says Chief Justice Marshall, "may be the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire." *Amer. Ins. Co. vs. Canter, 1 Peters,* 542. See, also, *McCullough vs. Maryland, 4 Wheat.,* 422. *The Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia, 5 Peters,* 44. *The United States vs. Gratiot, 14 Peters,* 537.

But I refer to the express words of the Constitution, as ample and effective in conferring all the power that is claimed. "Congress may dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations," &c. If Congress may "dispose of" this land, then it may sell it. Inseparable from the right to sell is the right to define the terms of sale. The seller may affix such conditions and limitations as he pleases to the thing sold. If this be not so, then the buyer may dictate his terms to the seller. Answer these simple questions: Does the United States own land in fee-simple? Is the Government of the United States under guardianship, or disabled by minority? Is it *compos mentis?* If none of these disabilities apply to it, then it may sell; it may sell the fee-simple, or it may carve out any lesser estate, and sell that. It may incorporate such terms and conditions as it pleases into its deed or patent of sale. It may make an outright quit-claim, or it may reserve the minerals for its own use, or the navigable streams for public highways, as it has done in the territory northwest of the river Ohio. It may insert the conditions and limitations in each deed or patent; or, where the grantees are numerous, it may make general "rules and regulations," which are understood to be a part of each contract, and are therefore binding upon each purchaser. No man is compelled to buy, but if any one does buy, he buys subject to the "rules and regulations" expressed in the grants; and neither he, nor his grantees, nor his or their heirs after them, can complain. I want, therefore, no better foundation for legislating over the Territories than the fact of ownership in the United States. Grant this, and all is granted. If I own a farm, or a shop, I may, as owner, prescribe the conditions of its transfer to another. If he does not like my conditions, then let him abandon the negotiation; if he accedes to the conditions, then let him abide by them, and hold his peace.

Sir, in the State to which I belong we hold temperance to be a great blessing, as well as a great virtue; and intemperance to be a great curse, as well as a great sin. I know of incorporated companies there, who have purchased large tracts of land for manufacturing purposes. They well know how essential is the sobriety of workmen to the profitableness of their work; they know, too, how wasteful and destructive is inebriety. In disposing of their land, therefore, to the men whom they would gather about them and employ, they incorporate the provision, as a fundamental article in the deed of grant, that ardent spirits shall never be sold upon the premises; and thus they shut up, at once, one of the most densely-thronged gateways of hell. Have they not a right to do so, from the mere fact of ownership? Would any judge or lawyer doubt the validity of such a condition; or would any sensible man ever doubt its wisdom or humanity? Pecuniarily and morally, this comes under the head of "needful rules and regulations." If tipplers do not like them, let them stagger away, and seek their residence elsewhere.

But the United States is not merely a landowner; it is a sovereignty. As such, it exercises all constitutional jurisdiction over all its Territories. Whence, but from this right of sovereignty, does the Government obtain its power of saying that no man shall purchase land of the natives, or aborigines; and that, if you wish to buy land in the Territories, you shall come to the Government for it? Is there any express power in the Constitution authorizing Congress to say to all the citizens of the United States: "If you wish to buy ungranted land in the Territories, you must come to us, for no one else can sell, or shall sell?" This right, sustained by all our legislation and adjudications, covers the whole ground. *Lessee of Johnson et al. vs. McIntosh, 8 Wheat.,* 543; *5 Cond. Rep.,* 515.

But, leaving the Constitution, it is denied that there are precedents. The honorable gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BAYLY] has not only contested the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories, but he has denied the existence of precedents to sustain this power. Sir, it would have been an assertion far less bold, to deny the existence of precedents for the election of a President of the United States; for the instances of the latter have been far less frequent than of the former. Congress has legislated on the subject of slavery in the Territories all the way up, from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time; and this legislation has been sustained by the judiciary of both the General and State Governments, and carried into execution by the Executive power of both. See *Menard vs. Aspasia, 5 Peters,* 505; *Phebe et al. vs. Jay, Breese's Rep.,* 210; *Hogg vs. the Zanesville Canal Co., 5 Ohio Rep.,* 410; *Martin's Louisiana Rep., N. S.,* 699; *Spooner vs. McConnell, 1 McLean's Rep.,* 341; *Harvey vs. Decker, Walker's Mississippi Rep.,* 36; *Rachel vs. Walker, 4 Missouri Rep.,* 350.

So far as the uniform practice of sixty years can settle a doubtful or confirm an admitted right, this power of legislating over the Territories has been taken from the region of doubt, and established upon the basis of acknowledged authority. In legislating for all that is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, we have legislated on the subject of slavery in the Territories. Sixty years of legislation on one side, and not a denial of the right on the other.

But the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BAYLY] says, that the action of Congress, in regard to the Territories, has been rather that of constitution-making than of law-making. Suppose this to be true; does not the greater include the less? If Congress could make a constitution for all the Territories—an organic, fundamental law—a law of laws—could it not, had it so pleased, make the law itself? A constitution prescribes to the legislature what it shall do, and what it shall not do, it commands, prohibits, and binds men by oaths to support itself. It says, "hither *shalt* thou come, and no further." And if Congress can do this, can it not make the local law itself? Can aught be more preposterous? As if we could *command* others to do what we have no right to do ourselves, and prohibit others from doing what lies beyond our own jurisdiction. Surely, to decree on what subjects a community shall legislate, and on what they shall not legislate, is the exercise of the highest power.

But Congress has not stopped with the exercise of the constitution-making power. In various forms, and at all times, it has legislated for the Territories, in the strictest sense of the word *legislation*. It has legislated again and again, and ten times again, on this very subject of slavery. See the act of 1794, prohibiting the slave trade from "any port or place" in the United States. Could any citizen of the United States, under this act, have gone into one of our Territories, and there fitted out vessels for the slave trade? Surely he could, if Congress had no right to legislate over Territories, only as so much land and water.

By statute of 1798, chapter 28, sec. 7, slaves were forbidden to be brought into the Mississippi Territory from without the United States, and all slaves so brought in were *made free.*

So the act of 1800, chapter 51, in further prohibition of the slave trade, applied to all citizens of the United States, whether living in Territories or in organized States. Did not this legislation cover the Territories?

By statute 1804, chap. 35, sec. 10, three classes of slaves were forbidden to be introduced into the Orleans Territory.

Statute 1807, chapter 22, prohibiting the importation of slaves after January 1, 1808, prohibited their importation into the Territories in express terms.

Statute 1818, chapter 91, statute 1819, chapter 101, and statute 1820, chapter 113, prohibiting the slave trade, and making it piracy, expressly included all the Territories of the United States.

Statute 1819, chapter 21, authorized the President to provide for the safe-keeping of slaves imported from Africa, and for their removal to their home in that land. Under this law, the President might have established a depot for slaves within the limits of our Territories, on the Gulf, or on the Mississippi.

By statute 1820, chapter 22, sec. 8, Congress established what has been called the Missouri Compromise line, thereby expressly legislating on the subject of slavery. So of Texas. *See Joint Res. March 1, 1845.*

By statute 1819, chapter 93, statute 1821, chap. 39, sec. 2, and statute 1822, chap. 13, sec. 9, Congress legislated on the subject of slavery in the Territory of Florida.

Does it not seem almost incredible that a defender and champion of slavery should deny the power of Congress to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories? If Congress has no such power, by what right can a master recapture a fugitive slave escaping into a Territory? The Constitution says: "No person held to service, or labor, in one *State*, escaping into another"—that is, another *State*—"shall be discharged from such service, or labor," &c. The act of 1793, chap. 7, sec. 3, provides that when a person "held to labor," &c., "shall escape into any other of the said States, or *Territory*," he may be taken. By what other law than this can a runaway slave be retaken in a *Territory?* If Congress has no power to legislate on the subject of slavery in any Territory, then, surely, it cannot legislate for the capture of a fugitive slave in a Territory. The argument cuts both ways. The knife wounds him who would use it to wound his fellow.

Further than this. If slavery is claimed to be one of the common subjects of legislation, then any legislation by Congress for the Territories, on any of the common subjects of legislation, is a precedent, going to prove its right to legislate on slavery itself. If Congress may legislate on one subject belonging to a class, then it may legislate on any other subject belonging to the same class. Now, Congress has legislated for the Territories on almost the whole circle of subjects belonging to common legislation. It has legislated on the elective franchise, on the pecuniary qualifications and residence of candidates for office, on the militia, on oaths, on the *per diem* and mileage of members, &c. By statute 1811, chap. 21, sec. 3, authorizing the Territory of Orleans to form a Constitution, it was provided that all legislative proceedings and judicial records should be kept and promulgated in the English language. Cannot Congress make provision for the rights of the people, as well as for the language in which the laws and records declaring those rights shall be expressed? Any language is sweet to the ears of man which gives him the right of trial by jury, of *habeas corpus*, of religious freedom, and of life, limb, and liberty; but accursed is that language, and fit only for the realms below, which deprives an immortal being of the rights of intelligence and of freedom; of the right to himself, and the dearer rights of family.

But all this is by no means the strongest part of the evidence with which our statutes and judicial decisions abound, showing the power of Congress to legislate over Territories. From the beginning, Congress has not only legislated over the Territories, but it has appointed and controlled the agents of legislation.

The general structure of the Legislature in several of the earlier Territorial Governments was this: It consisted of a Governor and of two Houses—an upper and a lower. Without an exception, where a Governor has been appointed, Congress has always reserved his appointment to itself, or to the President. The Governor so appointed has always had a veto power over the two Houses; and Congress has always reserved to itself, or to the President, a veto power, not only over him, but over him and both the Houses besides. Congress has often interfered also with the appointment of the upper House, leaving only the lower House to be chosen exclusively by the people of the Territory; and it has determined even for the lower House the qualifications both of electors and of elected. Further still: The power of removing the Governor at pleasure, has always been reserved to Congress, or to the President.

Look at this: Congress determines for the Territory the qualifications of electors and elected—at least in the first instance. No law of the Territorial Legislature is valid until approved by the Governor. Though approved by the Governor, or, it may be annulled by Congress, or by the President; and the Governor is appointed, and may be removed, at pleasure, by Congress or by the President.

To be more specific, I give the following outline of some of the Territorial Governments:

Ohio Territory, statute 1789, *chap.* 8.—A Governor for four years, nominated by the President, approved by the Senate, with power to appoint all subordinate civil and military officers.

A Secretary for four years, appointed in the same way.

Three Judges, to hold office during good behaviour. Governor and Judges the sole Legislature, until the district shall contain 5,000 free male inhabitants. Then,

A House of Assembly, chosen by qualified electors, for two years.

A Legislative Council of five, to hold office for five years. The House of Assembly to choose ten men, five of whom are to be selected by the President and approved by the Senate. These five to be the "Legislative Council."

A Governor, as before, with an unconditional veto, and a right to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the Assembly.

Power given to the President to revoke the commissions of Governor and Secretary.

Indiana Territory, statute 1800, *chapter* 41.—Similar to that of Ohio. At first, the lower House to consist of not more than nine, nor less than seven.

Mississippi Territory, statute 1800, *chapter* 50.—Similar to that of Indiana.

Michigan Territory, statute 1805, *chapter* 5.—Similar to that of Indiana.

Illinois Territory, statute 1809, *chapter* 13.—Similar to that of Indiana.

Alabama Territory, statute 1817, *chapter* 59.—Similar to that of Indiana.

Wisconsin Territory, statute 1836, *chapter* 54.—Governor for three years, appointed as above, and removable by the President, with power to appoint officers and grant pardons. Unconditional veto.

Secretary for four years, removable by the President. In the absence, or during the inability, of the Governor, to perform his duties.

Legislative Assembly to consist of a Council and a House of Representatives, to be chosen for two years. Congress to have an unconditional veto, to be exercised on laws approved by the Governor.

Louisiana Territory, statute 1803, *chapter* 1.—Sole dictatorial power given to the President of the United States; and the army and navy of the United States placed at his command to govern the territorial inhabitants. (This was under Mr. Jefferson, a strict constructionist.)

Territory of Orleans, statute 1804, *chapter* 38.—Governor nominated by President, approved by Senate—tenure of office three years. Removable by the President. Secretary for four years, to be Governor in case, &c.

Legislative Council of thirteen, to be annually appointed by the President.

Governor and Council, of course, a reciprocal negative on each other. Congress an unconditional veto on both.

District of Louisiana, statute 1804, *chapter* 38.—To be governed by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Indiana.

Congress an unconditional veto on all their laws.

Missouri Territory, statute 1812, *chapter* 95.—A Governor, appointable and removable as above.

Secretary, the same.

A Legislative Council of nine. Eighteen persons to be nominated by the House of Representatives for the Territory; nine of these to be selected and appointed by the President and Senate. A House of Representatives to be chosen by the people.

Arkansas Territory, statute 1819, *chapter* 49.—A Governor and Secretary, appointable and removable, as above.

All legislative power vested in the Governor and in the judges of the superior court.

When a majority of the *freeholders* should elect, then they might adopt the form of government of Missouri.

East and West Florida, statute 1819, *chapter* 93; *statute* 1821, *chapter* 29; *statute* 1822, *chapter* 13.—From March 3, 1819, to March 30, 1822, the Government vested solely in the President of the United States, and to be exercised by such officers as he should appoint.

After March 30, 1822, a Governor and Secretary appointable and removable as above.

All legislative power vested in the Governor, and in thirteen persons, called a Legislative Council, to be appointed annually by the President.

Yet, sir, notwithstanding all this legislation of Congress for the Territories, on the subject of slavery itself; notwithstanding its legislation on a great class of subjects of which slavery is acknowledged to be one; notwithstanding its appointment, in some cases, of the legislative power of the Territory—making its own agent, the Governor, removable at pleasure—giving him a veto in the first place, and reserving to itself a veto when he has approved; notwithstanding the exercise, in other cases, of full, absolute sovereignty over the inhabitants of the Territories, and all their interests; and notwithstanding such has been the practice of the Government for sixty years, under Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and others, it is now denied that Congress has any right to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories. Sir, with a class of politicians in this country, it has come to this, that slavery is the only sacred thing in existence. It is self-existent, like a god, and human power cannot prevent it. From year to year, it goes on conquering and to conquer, and human power cannot dethrone it.

Sir, I will present another argument on this subject, and I do not see how any jurist or statesman can invalidate it.

Government is one, but its functions are several. They are legislative, judicial, executive. These functions are coördinate; each supposes the other two. There must be a legislature to enact laws; there must be a judiciary to expound the laws enacted, and point out the individuals against whom they are to be enforced; there must be an executive arm to enforce the decisions of the courts. In every theory of government, where one of these exists, the others exist. Under our Constitution, they are divided into three parts, and apportioned among three coördinate bodies. Whoever denies one of these must deny them all.

If the Government of the United States, therefore, has no right to *legislate* for the Territories, it has no right to *adjudicate* for the Territories; if it has no right to *adjudicate*, then it has no right to *enforce* the decisions of the judicial tribunals. These rights must stand or fall together. He who takes from this Government the law-making power, in regard to Territories, strikes also the balances of justice from the hands of the judge, and the mace of authority from those of the Executive. There is no escape from this conclusion. The Constitution gives no more authority to adjudge suits in the Territories, or to execute the decisions of the Territorial courts, than it does to legislate. If Congress has no power over territory, only *as land*, then what does this land want of judges and marshals? Is it not obvious, then, that this new reading of the Constitution sets aside the whole legislative, judicial, and executive administration of this Government over Territories, since the adoption of the Constitution? It makes the whole of it invalid. The Presidents, all members of Congress, all judges upon the bench, have been in a dream for the last sixty years, and are now waked up and recalled to their senses by the charm of a newly-discovered reading of the Constitution.

Hitherto, sir, I have not directed my remarks to the actual legislation by Congress on the subject of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, so called. That territory was consecrated to freedom by the Ordinance of 1787. It has been said that the Confederation had no power to pass such an Ordinance. One answer to this is, that the Ordinance was a "compact," in terms, and so was adopted and ratified by the sixth article of the Constitution, under the term "engagement."

But whatever may be thought of this answer, there is another one which is conclusive. Congress has ratified the Ordinance again and again. The first Congress at its first session passed an act whose preamble is as follows: "Whereas, in order that the Ordinance of the United States, in Congress assembled, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, may continue to have full effect," &c. It then proceeds to modify some parts of the Ordinance, and to adopt all the rest.*

In the second section of the act of 1800, chapter 41, establishing the Indiana Territory, it is expressly provided that its Government shall be "in all respects similar to that provided by the Ordinance of 1787."

In the act of 1802, chapter 40, section 5, authorizing Ohio to form a Constitution and State Government, this Ordinance of 1787 is three times referred to as a valid and existing engagement; and it has always been held to be so by the courts of Ohio.

So in the act of 1816, chapter 57, section 4, authorizing the erection of Indiana into a State, the Ordinance is again recognised, and is made a part of the fundamental law of the State.

So in the act of 1818, chapter 67, section 4, authorizing Illinois to become a State.

So in the act of 1805, chapter 5, section 2, establishing the Territory of Michigan.

So of Wisconsin. See act of 1847, chapter 53, in connection with the Constitution of Wisconsin.

But all this is tedious and superfluous. I have gone into this detail, because I understand the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BAYLY] to have denied this adoption and these recognitions of the Ordinance. I hazard nothing in saying that the Ordinance of 1787 has been expressly referred to as valid, or expressly or impliedly reënacted, a dozen times, by the Congress of the United States; and, in the State courts of Ohio, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri, it has been adjudged to be constitutional. How, then, is it possible for any mind, amenable to legal rules for the decision of legal questions, to say that Congress cannot legislate, or has not legislated, (except once or twice inadvertently,) on the subject of slavery in the Territories?

On this part of the argument, I have only a concluding remark to submit. The position I am contesting affirms generally that Congress cannot legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. The inexpediency of so legislating is further advocated, on the ground that it is repugnant to democratical principles to debar the inhabitants of the Territories from governing themselves. Must the free men of the Territories, it is asked, have laws made for them by others? No! It is anti-democratic, monarchical, intolerable. All men have the right of self-government; and this principle holds true with regard to the inhabitants of Territories, as well as the inhabitants of States.

Now, if these declarations were a sincere and honest affirmation of human rights, I should respect them and honor their authors. Did this doctrine grow out of a jealousy for the rights of man, a fear of usurpation, an assertion of the principle of self-government, I should sympathize with it, while I denied its legality. But, sir, it is the most painful aspect of this whole case, that the very object and purpose of claiming these ample and sovereign rights for the inhabitants of the Territories, is, that they may deny *all* rights to a portion of their fellow-beings within them. Enlarge, aggrandize the rights of the Territorial settlers! And why? That they may abolish all rights for a whole class of human beings. This claim, then, is not made for the purpose of making freemen more free, but for making slaves more enslaved. The reason for denying to Congress the power to legislate for the Territories, is the fear that Congress will prevent slavery in them. The reason for claiming the supreme right of legislation for the Territorial inhabitants, is the hope that they will establish slavery within their borders. Must not that Democracy be false, which begets slavery as its natural offspring?

If it has now been demonstrated that Congress has uniformly legislated, and can legislate, on the subject of slavery in the Territories, I proceed to consider the next question. *Is it expedient to exclude slavery from them?*

Here, on the threshold, we are confronted with the claim that the gates shall be thrown wide open to the admission of slavery into the broad Western world; because, otherwise, the Southern or slave States would be debarred from enjoying their share of the common property of the Union.

I meet this claim with a counter-claim. If, on the one hand, the consecration of this soil of freedom will exclude the slaveholders of the South, it is just as true, on the other hand, that the desecration of it to slavery will exclude the freemen of the North. We, at the North, know too well the foundations of worldly prosperity and happiness; we know too well the sources of social and moral welfare, ever voluntarily to blend our fortunes with those of a community where slavery is tolerated. If our demand for free territory, then, excludes them, their demand for slave territory excludes us. Not one in five hundred of the freemen of the North could ever be induced to take his family and domicile himself in a Territory where slavery exists. They know that the institution would impoverish their estate, demoralize their children, and harrow their own consciences with an ever-present sense of guilt, until those consciences, by force of habit and induration, should pass into that callous and more deplorable state, where continuous crime could be committed without the feeling of remorse.

Sir, let me read a passage from Dr. Channing, written in 1798—fifty years ago—when, at the early age of nineteen, he lived for some time in Richmond, Virginia, as a tutor in a private family. While there, he wrote a letter, of which the following is an extract:

> "There is one object here which always depresses me. It is *slavery*. This alone would prevent me from ever settling in Virginia. Language cannot express my detestation of it. Master and slave! Nature never made such a distinction, or established such a relation. Man, when forced to substitute the will of another for his own, ceases to be a moral agent; his title to the name of man is extinguished; he becomes a mere machine in the hands of his oppressor. No empire is so valuable as the empire of one's self. No right is so inseparable from humanity, and so necessary to the improvement of our species, as the right of exercising the powers which nature has given us in the pursuit of any and of every good which we can obtain, without doing injury to others. Should you desire it, I will give you some idea of the situation and character of the negroes in Virginia. It is a subject so degrading to humanity, that I cannot dwell on it with pleasure. I should be obliged to show you every vice, heightened by every meanness, and added to every misery. The influence of slavery on the whites is almost as fatal as on the blacks themselves."

This was written fifty years ago, by a young man from New England, only nineteen years old. I know that, on all subjects of philanthropy and ethics, Dr. Channing was half a century in advance of his age. But the sentiments he expressed on this subject, at the close of the last century, are now the prevalent, deep-seated feelings of Northern men, excepting, perhaps, a few cases, where those feelings have been corrupted by interest.

I repeat, then, that the North cannot shut out the South from the new Territories by a law for excluding slavery, more effectually than the South will shut out the North by the fact of introducing slavery. Even admitting, then, that the *law* is equal for both North and South, I will show that all the *equity* is on the side of the North.

Sir, from the establishment of our independence by the treaty of 1783, to the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and for years afterwards, no trace is to be found of an intention to enlarge the bounds of our Republic; and it is well known that the treaty of 1803, for acquiring Louisiana, was acknowledged by Mr. Jefferson, who made it, to be unconstitutional. In 1787, the Magna Charta of perpetual freedom was secured to the Northwest Territory. But the article excluding slavery from it had an earlier date than 1787. On the first of March, 1784, Congress voted to accept a cession from the State of Virginia of her claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio river. The subject of providing a Government for this and other territory was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Chase of Maryland, and Mr. Howell of Rhode Island. On the 19th of April, 1784, their report was considered. The report contained the following ever-memorable clause:

> "That after the year 1800, of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, (they were spoken of as States, because it was always contemplated to erect the Territories into States,) otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty."

Sir, we hear much said in our day of the Wilmot Proviso against slavery. In former years, great credit has been given to Mr. Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, for originating the sixth article, (against slavery,) in the Ordinance of 1787. Sir, it is a misnomer to call this restrictive clause the "Wilmot Proviso." It is the *Jefferson Proviso*, and Mr. Jefferson should have the honor of it; and would to Heaven that our Southern friends, who kneel so devoutly at his shrine, could be animated by that lofty spirit of freedom, that love for the rights of man, which alone can make the place of their devotion sacred.

But what is most material to be observed here, is, that the plan of Government reported by Mr. Jefferson, and acted upon by the Congress at that time, embraced all the "Western territory." It embraced all the "territory ceded, or *to be ceded*, by individual States to the United States." See Journals of Congress, April 23, 1784. If, then, we leave out Kentucky and Tennessee, as being parts of Virginia and North Carolina, all the residue of the territory, north *or south* of the Ohio river, within the treaty limits of the United States, was intended, by the Jefferson Proviso, to be rescued from the doom of slavery. For that Proviso there were sixteen votes, and only seven against it. Yet so singularly were these seven votes distributed, and so large a majority of the States did it require to pass an act, that it was lost. The whole of the representation from seven States

*Mr. Madison thought the original Ordinance to be clearly invalid. See Federalist, No. 38. It is just as clear that he thought the Constitution gave validity to it. See Federalist, No. 43.

voted for it unanimously. Only two States voted unanimously against it. Had but one of Mr. Jefferson's colleagues voted with him, and had Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, voted for it, the restrictive clause in the report would have stood. But a minority of seven from the slaveholding States controlled a majority of sixteen from the free States—ominous even at that early day of a fate that has now relentlessly pursued us for sixty years.

That vote was certainly no more than a fair representation of the feeling of the country against slavery at that time. It was with such a feeling that the "compromises of the Constitution," as they are called, were entered into. Nobody dreaded or dreamed of the extension of slavery beyond its then existing limits. Yet behold its aggressive march. Besides Kentucky and Tennessee, which I omit for reasons before intimated, seven new slave States have been added to the Union—Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas—the last five out of territory not belonging to us at the adoption of the Constitution; while only one free State, Iowa, has been added during all this time, out of such newly-acquired territory.*

But there is another fact, which shows that the slaveholders have already had their full share of territory, however wide the boundaries of this country may hereafter become.

I have seen the number of *actual slaveholders* variously estimated; but the highest estimate I have ever seen is *three hundred thousand*. Allowing six persons to a family, this number would represent a white population of eighteen hundred thousand.

Mr. Gayle, of Alabama, interrupted and said: If the gentleman from Massachusetts has been informed that the number of slaveholders is only three hundred thousand, then I will tell him his information is utterly false.

Mr. Mann. Will the gentleman tell me how many there are?

Mr. Gayle. Ten times as many.

Mr. Mann. Ten times as many! Ten times three hundred thousand is three millions; and, allowing six persons to each family, this would give a population of eighteen millions directly connected with slaveholding; while the whole free population of the South, in 1840, was considerably less than five millions!

Mr. Meade, of Virginia, here interposed and said, that where father or mother owned slaves, they were considered the joint property of the family. I think, if you include the grown and the young, there are about three millions interested in slave property.

Mr. Mann resumed. My data lead me to believe that the number does not now exceed two millions; but, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the number directly connected with slaveholding must have been less than one million. Yet this one million has already managed to acquire the broad States of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, beyond the limits of the treaty of 1783; when, at the time the "compromises of the Constitution" were entered into, not one of the parties supposed that we should ever acquire territory beyond those limits. And this has been done for the benefit (if it be a benefit) of that one million of slaveholders, against what is now a free population of fifteen millions. And, in addition to this, it is to be considered that the non-slaveholding population of the slave States have as direct and deep an interest as any part of the country, adverse to the extension of slavery. If all our new territory be doomed to slavery, where can the non-slaveholders of the slaveholding States emigrate to? Are they not to be considered? Has one-half the population of the slaveholding States rights, which are paramount, not only to the rights of the other half, but to the rights of all the free States besides?—for such is the claim. No, sir. I say that, if slavery were no moral or political evil, yet according to all principles of justice and equity, the slaveholders have already obtained their full share of territory, though all the residue of this continent were annexed to the Union, and we were to become, in the insane language of the day, "an ocean-bound Republic."

I now proceed to consider the nature and effects of slavery, as a reason why new-born communities should be exempted from it. First let me treat of its economical or financial, and secondly, of its moral aspects.

Though slaves are said to be property, they are the preventers, the wasters, the antagonists, of property. So far from facilitating the increase of individual or national wealth, slavery retards both. It blasts worldly prosperity. Other things being equal, a free people will thrive and prosper, in a more worldly sense, more than a people divided into masters and slaves. Were we so constituted as to care for nothing, to aspire to nothing, beyond mere temporal well-being, this well-being would counsel us to abolish slavery wherever it exists, and to repel its approach wherever it threatens.

Enslave a man, and you destroy his ambition, his enterprise, his capacity. In the constitution of human nature, the desire of bettering one's condition is the mainspring of effort. The first touch of slavery snaps this spring. The slave does not participate in the value of the wealth he creates. All he earns, another seizes. A free man labors, not only to improve his own condition, but to better the condition of his children. The mighty impulse of parental affection repays for diligence, and makes exertion sweet. The slave's heart never beats with this high emotion. However industrious and frugal he may be, he has nothing to bequeath to his children—or nothing save the sad bonds he himself has worn. Fear may make him work, but hope never. When he moves his tardy limbs, it is because of the suffering that goads him from behind, and not from the bright prospects that beckon him forward in the race.

What would a slave-owner at the South think, should he come to Massachusetts, and there see a farmer seize upon his hired man, call in a surgeon, and cut off all the flexor muscles of his arms and legs? I do not ask what he would think of his humanity, but what would he think of his sanity? Yet the planter does more than this when he makes a man a slave. He cuts deeper than the muscles—he destroys the spirit that moves the muscles.

In all ages of the world, among all nations, wherever the earnings of the laborer have been stolen away from him, his energies have gone with his earnings. Under the villeinage system of England, the villeins were a low, idle, spiritless race; dead to responsibility; grovelling in their desires; resistant of labor; without enterprise; without foresight. This principle is now exemplified in the landlord and tenant system of Ireland. If a tenant is to be no better off for the improvements he makes on an estate, he will not make the improvements. Look at the seigniories of New York—the anti-rent districts, as they are now called; every man acquainted with the subject knows that both people and husbandry are half a century behind the condition of contiguous fee-simple proprietorships. All history illustrates the principle, that when property is insecure, it will not be earned. If a despot can seize and confiscate the property of his subject at pleasure, the subject will not acquire property, and thereby give to himself the conspicuousness that invites the plunder. And if this be so when property is merely insecure, what must be the effect when a man has no property whatever in his earnings? Who does not know that a slave, who can rationally hope to purchase his freedom, will do all the work he ever did before, and earn his freedom money besides? Slavery, therefore, though claiming to be a kind of property, is the bane of property; and the more slaves there are found in the inventory of a nation's wealth, the less in value will the aggregate of that inventory be.

This is *one* of the reasons why slave labor is so much less efficient than free labor. The former can never compete with the latter; and while the greater service is performed with cheerfulness, the smaller is extorted by fear. Just as certain as that the locomotive can outrun the horse, and the lightning outspeed the locomotive, just so certain is it that he who is animated by the hopes and the rewards of freedom will outstrip the disheartened and fear-driven slave.

The intelligent freeman can afford to live well, dress decently, and occupy a comfortable tenement. A scanty subsistence, a squalid garb, a mean and dilapidated hovel, proclaim the degradation of the slave. The slave States gain millions of dollars every year from the privations, the mean food, clothing, and shelter, to which the slaves are subjected; and yet they grow rich less rapidly than States where millions of dollars are annually expended for the comforts and conveniences of the laborer. More is lost in production than is gained by privation.

A universal concomitant of slavery is, that it makes white labor disreputable. Being disreputable, it is shunned. The pecuniary loss resulting from this is incalculable. Dry up the myriad head-springs of the Mississippi, and where would be the mighty volume of waters which now bear navies on their bosom, and lift the ocean itself above its level, by their outpouring flood? Abolish those sources of wealth, which consist in the personal industry of every man, and of each member of every man's family, and that wide-spread thrift, and competence, and elegance, which are both the reward and the stimulus of labor, will be abolished with them. Forego the means, and you forfeit the end. You must use the instrument if you would have the product. Nothing but the feeling of independence, the conscious security of working for one's self and one's family, will, in the present state of the world, make labor profitable.

I know it has been recently said in this Capitol, and by high authority, that, with the exception of menial services, it is not disreputable at the South for a white man to labor. There are two ways, each independent of the other, to disprove this assertion. One of them consists in the testimony of a host of intelligent witnesses acquainted with the condition of things at the South. I might quote page after page from various sources; but, as the assertion comes from a gentleman belonging to South Carolina, I will meet it with the statements of another gentleman belonging to the same State. I refer to Mr. William Gregg, of Charleston—a gentleman who is extensively acquainted with the social condition of men both North and South.

In that State, according to the last census, there were about 150,000 free whites, *over twelve years of age*. "Of this class," says Mr. Gregg, "fifty thousand are non-producers."* I suppose South Carolina to be as thrifty a slave State as there is, perhaps excepting Georgia; yet here is one-third part of the population, old enough to work, and able to work, who are idle, and of course vicious—non-producers, but the worst kind of consumers.

Another answer to the above assertion is, that if white labor were reputable at the South, and white men were industrious, the whole country would be a garden—a terrestrial paradise—so far as neatness, abundance, and beauty, are concerned. *Where are the* RESULTS *of this respected and honored white labor?* In a country where few expenses are necessary to ward off the rigors of winter; where the richest staples of the world are produced; where cattle and flocks need but little shelter, if any; if man superadded his industry to the bounties of nature, want would be wholly unknown; competence would give place to opulence, and the highest decorations of art would mingle with the glowing beauties of nature.

But hear Mr. Gregg:

"My recent visit to the Northern States has fully satisfied me that the true secret of our difficulties lies in the want of energy on the part of our capitalists, and ignorance and laziness on the part of those who ought to labor. We need never look for thrift while we permit our immense timber forests, granite quarries, and mines, to lie idle, and supply ourselves with hewn granite, pine boards, laths, shingles, &c., furnished by the *lazy* dogs of the North; ah! worse than this; we see our back country farmers, many of whom are too lazy to mend a broken gate, or repair the fences to protect their crops from the neighboring stock, actually supplied with their axe, hoe, and broom handles, pitchforks, rakes, &c., by the *indolent* mountaineers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. *The time was*, when every *old* woman had her gourd, from which the country gardens were supplied with seed. We now find it more convenient to permit this duty to devolve on our careful friends, the Yankees. Even our boat-oars, and handspikes for rolling logs, are furnished, ready made, to our hand," &c. "Need I add, to further exemplify our excessive indolence, that the Charleston market is supplied with fish and wild game by Northern men, who come out here as regularly as the winter comes, for this purpose, and from our own waters and forests often realize, in the course of one winter, a sufficiency to purchase a small farm in New England."—*Essays*, p. 8.

Again:

"It is only necessary to travel over the sterile mountains of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, to learn the true secret of our difficulties"—"to learn the difference between indolence and industry, extravagance and economy. We there see the scenery which would take the place of our unpainted mansions, dilapidated cabins, with mud chimneys, and no windows, broken-down rail fences, fields overgrown with weeds, and thrown away, half exhausted, to be taken up by pine thickets; beef cattle unprotected from the inclemency of winter, and so poor as barely to preserve life."—*Essays*, p. 7.

And again:

"Shall we pass unnoticed the thousands of poor, ignorant, degraded white people among us, who, in this land of plenty, live in comparative nakedness and starvation? Many a one is reared in *proud* South Carolina, from birth to manhood, who has never passed a month in which he has not, some part of the time, been stinted for meat. Many a mother is there who will tell you that her children are but scantily supplied with bread, and much more scantily with meat; and if they be clad with comfortable raiment, it is at the expense of these scanty allowances of food. These may be startling statements, but they are nevertheless true; and, if not believed in Charleston, the members of our Legislature, *who have traversed the State in electioneering campaigns*, can attest their truth."—*Essays*, p. 22.

After such statements as these; after the testimony of hundreds and hundreds of eye-witnesses; after the proofs furnished by the aggregates of products, published in our Patent Office reports, it is drawing a little too heavily on our credulity to say that the white man at the South is industrious. Industry proves itself by its results, as the sun proves itself by shining.

But slavery is hostile to the pecuniary advancement of the community in another way. The slave must be kept in ignorance. He must not be educated, lest with education should come a knowledge of his natural rights, and the means of escape or the power of vengeance. To secure the abolition of his freedom, the growth of his mind must be abolished. His education, therefore, is prohibited by statute, under terrible penalties.

Now, a man is weak in his muscles; he is strong only in his faculties. In physical strength, how much superior is an ox or a horse to a man; in fleetness, the dromedary or the eagle. It is through mental strength only that man becomes the superior and governor of all animals.

It was not the design of Providence that the work of the world should be performed by muscular strength. God has filled the earth and imbued the elements with energies of greater power than that of all the inhabitants of a thousand planets like ours. Whence come our necessaries and our luxuries?—those comforts and appliances that make the difference between a houseless wandering tribe of Indians in the far West, and a New England village? They do not come wholly or principally from the original, unassisted strength of the human arm, but from the employment, through intelligence and skill, of those great natural forces, with which the bountiful Creator has filled every part of the material Universe. Caloric, gravitation, expansibility, compressibility, electricity, chemical affinities and repulsions, spontaneous velocities—these are the mighty agents which the intellect of man harnesses to the car of improvement. The application of water, and wind, and steam, to the propulsion of machinery, and to the transportation of men and merchandise from place to place, has added ten thousand fold to the actual products of human industry. How small the wheel which the stoutest laborer can turn, and how soon will he be weary. Compare this with a wheel driving a thousand spindles or looms, which a stream of water can turn, and never tire. A locomotive will take five hundred men, and bear them on their journey hundreds of miles in a day. Look at these same five hundred men, starting from the same point, and attempting the same distance, with all the pedestrian's or the equestrian's toil and tardiness. The cotton mills of Massachusetts will turn out more cloth in one day than could have been manufactured by all the inhabitants of the Eastern continent during the tenth century. On an element which, in ancient times, was supposed to be exclusively within the control of the gods, and where it was deemed impious for human power to intrude, even there the gigantic forces of nature, which human science and skill have enlisted in their service, confront and overcome the raging of the elements—breasting tempests and tides, escaping reefs and lee-shores, and careering triumphant around the globe. The velocity of winds, the weight of waters, and the rage of steam, are powers, each one of which is infinitely stronger than all the strength of all the nations and races of mankind, were it all gathered into a single arm. And all these energies are given us on one condition—the condition of intelligence—that is, of education.

Had God intended that the work of the world should be done by human bones and sinews, he would have given us an arm as solid and strong as the shaft of a steam engine; and enabled us to stand, day and night, and turn the crank of a steamship while sailing to Liverpool or Calcutta. Had God designed the human muscles to do the work of the world, then, instead of the ingredients of gunpowder or guncotton, and the expansive force of heat, he would have given us hands which could take a granite quarry and break its solid acres into suitable and symmetrical blocks, as easily as we now open an orange. Had he intended us for bearing burdens, he would have given us Atlantean shoulders, by which we could carry the vast freights of railcar and steamship, as a porter carries his pack. He would have given us lungs by which we could blow fleets before us; and wings to sweep over ocean wastes. But, instead of iron arms, and Atlantean shoulders, and the lungs of Boreas, he has given us a mind, a soul, a capacity of acquiring knowledge, and thus of appropriating all these energies of nature to our own use. Instead of a telescopic and microscopic eye, he has given us power to invent the telescope and the microscope. Instead of ten thousand fingers, he has given us genius inventive of the power-loom and the printing press. Without a cultivated intellect, man is among the weakest of all the dynamical forces of nature; with a cultivated intellect, he commands them all.

And now, what does the slave-maker do? He abolishes this mighty power of the intellect, and uses only the weak, degraded, and half-animated forces of the human limbs. A thousand slaves may stand by a river, and to them it is only an object of fear or superstition. An intelligent man surpasses the ancient idea of a river-god; he stands by the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Merrimack, or the Connecticut; he commands each to do more work than could be performed by a hundred thousand men—to saw timber, to make cloth, to grind corn—and they obey. Ignorant slaves stand upon a coal mine, and to them it is only a worthless part of the inanimate earth. An intelligent man uses the same mine to print a million of books. Slaves will seek to obtain the same crop from the same field, year after year, though the *pabulum* of that crop is exhausted; the intelligent man, with his chemist's eye, sees not only the minutest atoms of the earth, but the imponderable gases that permeate it, and he is rewarded with an unbroken succession of luxuriant harvests.

[TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.]

* Here Mr. Hilliard, of Alabama, rose to ask if the South, by the Missouri compromise, had not surrendered its right to carry slavery north of the compromise line? The question was not understood. If it had been, it would have been replied, that the existence of slavery at New Orleans, and a few other places in Louisiana, at the time of the treaty with France, by no means established the right to carry it to the Pacific Ocean, if the treaty extended so far. Slavery, being against natural right, can only exist by virtue of positive law, backed by force sufficient to protect it. It could not lawfully exist, therefore, in any part of Louisiana, which had not been laid out, organized, and subjected to the civil jurisdiction of the Government. Such was not the case with any part of the territory north of the compromise line; and therefore nothing was surrendered. On the other hand, in the formation of the Territorial Governments of Orleans, Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida, a vast extent of country was surrendered to slavery. And this is independent of the question, whether Congress, by the Constitution, has any more right to establish slavery *anywhere*—than it has to establish an inquisition, create an order of nobility, or anoint a king.

* Essays on Domestic Industry, or An Inquiry into the Expediency of Establishing Cotton Manufactories in South Carolina. 1845.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 14, 1848.

☞ NOTICE.

After the 21st of this month, no more Campaign subscribers will be received. All new subscribers, after that date, will be expected to subscribe for a year, or six months, on our usual terms. We hope, however, that our friends will not relax their efforts, which thus far have proved greatly efficient.

SUBSCRIBERS FOR SIX MONTHS.

We have not heretofore encouraged subscriptions to the *Era* for less than a year, but the present state of political affairs, the importance of a wide diffusion of Anti-Slavery truths, and the earnest request of numerous friends, now induce us to announce that, until otherwise noticed, we will furnish the *Era* to those who cannot subscribe for a longer period, *six months for one dollar*, as usual, in advance.

We accompany this offer with the expression of an earnest hope, that, where it is practicable, subscriptions will be sent for a year.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR.

Tuckerton, N. J., *Sept.* 6, 1848.

Some of my readers may be familiar with Tuckerton, a favorite resort for the lovers of sea-bathing. It lies on the sea shore, in the lower part of Burlington county, N. J., about fifty-two miles from Philadelphia. A pretty bay, seven miles wide, spreads out between it and two flat, sandy islands, stretching along the coast, where the sea breaks, and foams, and roars, in vain efforts to reach the quiet haven within. Tuckerton itself is a neat little place, greeting one most agreeably after a long ride through the melancholy pines. The inhabitants are accustomed to visitors, betraying none of that annoying curiosity which characterizes so many country villages, and they know how to make strangers feel at home. The late Judge Tucker, formerly a member of Congress from this district, a beautiful monument to whom has been erected in the Methodist burying ground here, did much by his pure example to elevate the moral tone of the place: the people boast that there is not a drunkard among them.

From the room where I write—in the handsome and hospitable residence of my friend and relative, Dr. Thomas Page—I look out upon the prairie-like meadows, abounding in game; the winding creek, crowded with busy boatmen; the bright, tranquil bay, all alive with boats, some sailing between the islands and the shore, others lying at anchor, the angler aboard as much excited by the sport of catching "*black*" fish, as the politician is, by that of catching *green* ones—and beyond all this rolls the ever-restless ocean, its breakers flashing in the sunlight, and admonishing the innumerable sail, now bending on every tack, to mind their points, if they would escape the fate of the Chinaman which went to pieces not long since upon the beach.

A delightful refuge is this little nook from a noisy world. You get rid of hubbub and humbug the moment you leave Camden. No locomotive shakes you to a jelly; no turnpike keeps up an incessant din in your ears. You travel silently, slowly, softly, through the warm, gushing sands, and still pines, everything (except the musquitoes) allaying excitement, and disposing thought to repose. And at the journey's end, you are exempt from the nervous agitation of the Telegraph, and even the mail disturbs you but twice a week; so that, what with music and sailing on the bay, and "cutting capers" in the surf, you almost forget the turmoil of the world you have left behind you.

New Jersey improves in everything but roads. It is astonishing what a passion the people have for ploughing through sand. From Philadelphia to Moorestown, Mount Holly, Medford, and Tuckerton, there is a great deal of travel; but not a turnpike to one of these places. Burlington county, in which they lie, and which is a garden spot till you reach the pines, would become almost continuous with Philadelphia, were the roads turnpiked. But, however industrious and frugal Jerseymen may be at home, (and no people surpass them in these respects,) their enterprise they reserve for abroad.

New Jersey labors under the disadvantage of having its two principal markets outside of its own borders. New York on the north, and Philadelphia on the west of the State, while furnishing ready markets for its products, prevent the growth of any metropolis within its limits, and consequently that development of State character, which depends so much upon metropolitan influences. New Jersey has earned little distinction among the States, in science, the arts, or politics—not for lack of native talent and energy, but in consequence of the absorption of her principal talent and enterprise by the adjoining cities of New York and Pennsylvania. Her mercantile enterprise, her political ambition, seek their rewards amidst the exciting competitions of those cities—her young men of character migrate so soon as they can choose their own path in life. All through the States, you find emigrant Jerseymen, and everywhere they are marked by energy, steadiness, perseverance, and thrift. A majority of the pioneers of Cincinnati, emigrated from New Jersey. Nicholas Longworth, who has made Cincinnati the vineyard of the West, and is, we believe, the richest man in that city, is a native of this State, and was a poor mechanic when he left it. Judge Burnet, one of the pioneers, now among the wealthiest men of that city, formerly United States Senator from Ohio, is a Jerseyman. So is Dr. Daniel Drake, of the same city, who stands at the head of the Medical Profession in the West. I could name many others, but have no room. Every State ought to have a metropolis of sufficient consideration and dignity, to furnish a field, and secure rewards, for the highest talent and ambition of its children.

As to politics in New Jersey, wherever I have been, they seem languishing. New Jersey Whiggery worshipped Henry Clay, and is rather cold in its obeisance to the new idol. Still, it puts on something of a sad smile, and talks of the Allison letter. It has gone so far in this place as to hoist a flag to the top of a Liberty pole, bearing on one side the name of "*General Zachary Taylor*," and on the other, the famous saying, rather forlorn, however, as a motto, in civil warfare, "*A Little More Grape, Captain Bragg!*" It seems to understand that the strength of its candidate depends more upon grape-shot than anything else.

The political world presents a queer spectacle—the Whig party in the field without a candidate, and the Democratic candidate, without a party; the former claiming as their representative, a candidate who denies the claim, and the latter claiming to be the representatives of a party, the best portion of which is repudiating him. Van Buren and the Free Soilers seem to be the only men who clearly understand themselves!

G. B.

Incomprehensible.—Mr. Ashmun stated last evening, that if he supposed Gen. Taylor would veto the Wilmot Proviso, "not all the considerations on earth would tempt him to vote for him." He is then trusting a consideration, higher in his opinion than all other earthly considerations, to a contingency of the frailest tenure imaginable; he in confiding it to the keeping of a man he does not know, without a single substantial assurance how that man will act in relation to it. If a fortune were at stake, it would not thus be periled.

Springfield Sentinel, 25th ult.

DUPLICITY CONTINUED.

We place side by side the following paragraphs—the first, from a pamphlet address of the New Orleans Central Rough and Ready Club to the People of Louisiana, signed by S. S. Prentiss, Balie Peyton, and eight other leading friends of General Taylor, the second, from the *New Haven Journal*, written on the strength of a letter said to have been received from the Hon. Truman Smith, by the editor of that paper.

From the New Orleans Address.	*From the Truman Smith Letter.*
The election of Gen. Taylor will afford to the SOUTH and to the West the strongest of all guaranties for security, during his administration, on both the great subjects to which we have referred—the Proviso and Internal Improvement; As regards the WILMOT PROVISO, *we need not remind you, that, being himself a* SLAVEHOLDER, *a native of Virginia, a citizen of Louisiana*, WITH EVERY FEELING AND INTEREST IDENTIFIED WITH US, we have NOTHING TO FEAR; we recall to you his deep reverence for the Constitution, for the principles which guided Washington's administration; and on this basis, the true safeguard of our rights, we say, confidently, that IN HIM WILL WE EVER FIND THE FIRM DEFENDER OF THOSE RIGHTS."	A friend of mine, in whom I repose implicit confidence, had a conversation with the General on this subject last May, and in a letter to me, dated the 10th of that month, he reports that conversation *in full*. The ground taken by him is, that the Ordinance of 1787 having been passed by Congress, approved by Washington, and upheld by the Judiciary, the constitutionality of the measure has been settled by all departments of the Government, and consequently there is no ground left for the interposition of the veto. *He told my friend that he would neither veto the Wilmot Proviso, nor would he intrigue against it, nor do anything to embarrass its passage through the two Houses of Congress.*

MASSACHUSETTS FREE SOIL CONVENTION.

Boston, *8th 9th month*, 1848.

Our State Convention is just over. It was altogether the largest and most spirited political meeting ever held in Boston. The proceedings were characterized by harmony and enthusiasm. Hon. S. C. Phillips, of Salem—a great and good man, universally respected—was nominated for Governor, and Hon. John Mills, of Springfield, a distinguished member of the *late* Democratic party, for Lieutenant Governor. An electoral ticket, headed by Samuel Hoar and William Jackson, was also nominated.

Among the speakers were Hon. S. C. Phillips, Judge Allen, Hon. John C. Park, John Van Buren, Ex-Governor Morton, Hon. J. A. Bolles, Joshua Leavitt, Charles Sumner, and George Bradburn. An efficient State Committee were appointed, who will do their whole duty. The address, from the pen of Dr. Palfrey, is, I need not say, worthy of the cause.

J. G. W.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA QUESTION IN 1840.

Looking over recently the debates in Congress in 1840, on the resolutions of William Cost Johnson, of Maryland, against the reception of Anti-Slavery petitions, in which the subject-matter of these petitions—the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—was discussed more or less by most of the speakers, we have noted one or two facts which illustrate the position and views of even Northern Whigs at that period.

With the exception of Ex-Governor Slade, (now a Free Soil man,) we find none of the speakers in favor of granting the prayer of these petitions.

Biddle, of Pennsylvania, a leading and influential Whig member, in the course of his speech took occasion to remind the Democrats that their candidate for reëlection, President Van Buren, had declared the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District.

Vanderpoel, of New York, here rose and asked him if Mr. Van Buren did not also state that he considered the exercise of the right so dangerous and inexpedient, that he should veto a bill for such a purpose.

"Yes," returned Biddle, "and *does not every gentleman on this floor say the same thing?*"

Judge Hunt, of New York, another leading Whig, made a labored and ingenious speech, disclaiming, on the part of himself and his Whig friends of the North, any sympathy with the Abolition petitioners. We give an extract:

"He (Mr. H.) did not believe the North had any right to interfere with the question of domestic slavery; and *he did not blame Maryland and Virginia, the States that ceded this District, because they told the North they had no right to interfere. They had done as he would have done.*"

He concluded his speech with the following emphatic declaration:

"As a representative in part of the Empire State and the North, *he would never vote for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, without the consent of those States.*"

We recall these declarations at this time, simply to show that President Van Buren's views on the subject of slavery in 1837 were endorsed by leading Whigs of the North in 1840. While we design no excuse for the course of the former twelve years ago, we think, if those only who were at that time without sin are to cast stones at him, he will escape with few bruises.

J. G. W.

CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM.

We have received two numbers of this paper. It is published under the auspices of a committee of the Free Democracy of the city of New York, and is edited with great tact and talent. It is published at so low a price that the friends of Free Soil ought to see that every family in the State is furnished with a copy.

It will be published twelve weeks, on the following terms:

One copy	$0.25
Ten copies	2.00
Twenty-four copies	4.00
Fifty copies	7.00
One hundred copies	13.00
Two hundred copies	25.00

Orders should be sent without delay, free of postage, to George H. Purser.

EX-GOVERNOR THOMAS ON FREE SOIL.

The following is the letter from Hon. Francis Thomas, Ex-Governor of Maryland, to which we referred in yesterday's paper. It will be seen that it was addressed to the Committee of Correspondence, and of course it would have been read before the recent Convention at Union Hall, had it been received in time. Coming from such a source, at this extraordinary juncture of political affairs, it will doubtless be perused with interest by all classes of readers. We therefore place it on record, as a part of the history of the times.—*Baltimore Sun.*

Allegany County, *August* 26, 1848.

Gentlemen: Your letter, dated on the 19th of this month, inviting me to be present at a Mass State Convention at "Union Hall," in the city of Baltimore, on Wednesday next, has been forwarded from my house in Frederick to my temporary residence in this county, where I have been detained for more than a month past in attending to private business.

From your letter I learn that the principal object of the proposed Convention will be the formation of an electoral ticket, to be voted for by the people of Maryland, favorable to the election of Van Buren for the Presidency.

I have not participated in the proceedings of any political meeting, large or small, since my canvass for the Chief Magistracy of Maryland closed, at a public meeting in the town of Cumberland, early in October, 1841. I am, therefore, under no obligation, express or implied, to support or vote for either one of the nominees of the National Conventions held by the Whig and Democratic parties, respectively. Being free to make choice of a candidate to be voted for from the three gentlemen who have been brought before the public through the agency of others, I shall most certainly, if I live, and can attend the polls, vote for that electoral ticket which shall stand pledged to vote for Mr. Van Buren for the Presidency, and Mr. Adams for the Vice Presidency.

Having neither leisure nor inclination at this time to elaborate my reasons for this determination, I shall content myself with saying that I have great confidence in Mr. Van Buren as a tried statesman, eminently qualified for the duties imposed by the Constitution on our Chief Magistrates; that, in my opinion, the whole country owes to him much for his distinguished agency in giving proud predominance to those great measures of public policy, to the success of which my own political life was, in a very small sphere, devoted; and that my preference for him, arising from such considerations, instead of being diminished, is increased by the pledge he has given to follow in the footsteps of those illustrious patriots and philanthropists, who, by adopting the Federal Constitution, that clothed Congress with power to prohibit the African slave trade, signified, distinctly, their desire to have the farther extension of slavery arrested, and who, by adopting the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, forbidding the introduction of slavery into *all* the territory then held by the United States, set an example that ought to have been followed by their posterity.

The opinions here indicated I have long entertained, and know of no reason why I should not on this occasion give them distinct utterance. Indeed, so far from feeling any wish to conceal my opinions on this subject, I know of no public question, to be decided in the approaching Presidential election, of so much moment as that particularly involved in the nominations at Buffalo, or better calculated to awaken my decided preference for the electoral ticket you propose to have nominated.

Seeing that I cannot attend the sittings of the Convention to be held on Monday next, I must be content with tendering my best wishes for success to your commendable purposes, and am, very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

Francis Thomas.

Messrs. W. Gunnison, R. Gardiner, E. B. Cunningham, T. H. Stanford, and J. E. Snodgrass, Committee, &c.

For the National Era.

HARVEST GATHERING.

BY MISS PHŒBE CAREY.

The last days of the summer: bright and clear
 Shines the warm sun down on the quiet land,
Where corn-fields thick and heavy in the ear,
 Are slowly ripening for the laborer's hand;
Seed-time and harvest—since the bow was set,
Not vainly has man hoped your coming yet!

To the quick rush of sickles, joyously
 The reapers in the yellow wheat-fields sung,
And bound the pale sheaves of the ripened rye,
 When the first tassels of the maize were hung;
That precious seed into the furrow cast
Earliest in spring time, crowns the harvest last.

Ever, when summer's sun burns faint and dim,
 And rare and few the pleasant days are given,
When the sweet praise of our thanksgiving hymn
 Makes beautiful music in the ear of Heaven,
I think of other harvests, whence the sound
Of singing comes not as the sheaves are bound.

Not where the rice-fields whiten in the sun,
 And the warm South casts down her yellow fruit,
Shout they the labors of the autumn done—
 For there Oppression casts her deadly root,
And they, who sow and gather in that clime,
Share not the treasures of the harvest-time.

God of the seasons! thou who didst ordain
 Bread for the eater, who shall plant the soil,
How have they heard thee, who have forged the chain
 And built the dungeon for the sons of toil?
Burdening their hearts, not with the voice of prayer,
But the dull cries of almost dumb despair.

They who would see that growth of wickedness
 Planted where now the peaceful prairie waves,
And make the green paths of our wilderness
 Red with the torn and bleeding feet of slaves—
Forbid it, Heaven! and let the sharp axe be
Laid at the root of that most poison tree!

Let us behold its deadly leaves begin
 A fainter shadow o'er the world to cast,
And the long day that nursed its growth of sin
 Wane to a sunset that shall be its last—
So that the day-star, rising from the sea,
Shall light a land whose children will be free!

CORRESPONDENCE.

North Fairfield, Huron County, O., August 22, 1848.—The cause of Freedom in this section of country is prospering, and but for the efforts of a few leading politicians of both the old parties, men who *sincerely desire* the success of their respective candidates—for the sake of the spoils—the Free Soil movement would make an universal *sweep;* as it is, the Reserve will give to the nominee of the Buffalo Convention 6,000 majority at least, some think from 12,000 to 20,000, but you may depend on 6,000; and other parts of the State are equally awake, and are equally determined not to bend the knee to the great *Baal* of slavery any more. The greatest difficulty the supporters of Taylor meet with is, to convince the people that General Taylor is not opposed to the Wilmot Proviso; and they say, after reading the extracts in your paper, taken from Southern papers, that they are forged. Now, if we could persuade the great mass of the people to believe that Taylor is opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, as Root says, hardly a score of them would vote for him. Now, sir, if you would be so good as to send us a few of your Southern exchanges, old ones, it will convince our Taylor friends, at least they say it will. If it would not be asking too much, sir, I should be pleased to receive a few papers from you published in the South, believing that in thus doing you will do much to set public sentiment right in this quarter. Please send me, if consistent, one or two Taylor papers that have taken off Fillmore's name and substituted Butler's; also, some Democratic paper that hoists the name of Taylor; and Taylor papers that claim him to be opposed to the Wilmot Proviso—such papers as the *Selma* (Ala.) *Reporter, Montgomery Journal*, &c. Be assured, sir, that if we receive three or four papers from you of that description, that we shall make good use of them until November next.

With the best wishes for your prosperity and success in the great cause of universal freedom, I subscribe myself Benjamin T. Hunt.

Orwell, Ashtabula County, Ohio.—Here we are—all alive—full of hope—full of activity—and determined to triumph.

Cleveland led the way—the people thereof hold the first ratification meeting on Saturday last. It was an enthusiastic one; composed of the right men, and imbued with the right spirit. Your friends—J. C. Vaughan and S. Lewis—spoke.

Wednesday, 16th.—J. C. Vaughan and S. P. Chase addressed another large and enthusiastic meeting. Cleveland is for Van Buren and Adams.

Thursday, 17th.—S. P. Chase and J. C. Vaughan spoke to a mass meeting at Painesville, Lake county, and the people there met them with an enthusiasm equal to that of 1840.

Friday 18th.—Old Ashtabula met at Jefferson. The people were out in their strength—they had their banners and music—and Free Soil principles, and Free Soil songs, told who and what and where they were. J. C. Vaughan and S. P. Chase occupied the day. The enthusiasm beyond that of 1840.

If the Reserve holds out—if the other counties in which Messrs. Vaughan and Chase are to speak show as bold a front as Cuyahoga, Lake, and Ashtabula, Van Buren and Adams will receive over 12,000 majority in Northern Ohio! But of this I will write you again, for I am booked for the contest, and I shall be with the speakers named.

In faith and hope, yours, D. N.

Mount Vernon, Knox County, O., September 2, 1848.—Within you will find the names of two new subscribers, and their pay, together with the pay for my own paper for the past year. I wish I could send you one hundred names; I would gladly do it. To-day, Hon. Tom Corwin addressed the people, in this place, in favor of Taylor's claims to the Presidential chair, and I must say that I was greatly disappointed; I had expected much, but received very little. There was nothing manly or statesmanlike in his address. He made the people laugh by his witticisms, but failed to convince them by his arguments, of which, indeed, there were very few. I heard Mr. Brinkerhoff on the day previous, in favor of the Buffalo Platform, and I certainly think that he far excelled Mr. Corwin. Mr. Brinkerhoff has been nominated for Congress by the Free Soil men of this district. The Taylor men will unite in his support, preferring him to the candidate of the Democratic party. The Free Soil prospects here are very encouraging.

Yours, respectfully, Edwin H. Nevin.

South Bend, St. Joseph County, Ind., August 3, 1848.—If a few lines from this formerly strong Whig, but now "Free Soil," county, would be interesting to you, or to your readers, you have them with pleasure.

You may be assured that the people here are awake to their interests. Almost the universal sentiment of Northern Indiana is for "Free Soil," and "no farther extension of slavery;" and there is every reason to believe that the great mass of the people will carry out this sentiment at the polls in November next. But there are not a few of those who cannot think of leaving the old parties, and who would probably—were it not for the present Free Soil movement—sacrifice the interests of the country, to blindly follow the party wherever the South might choose to lead. To such men we would say, look well to the step you are about to take, lest you have cause to repent when it is too late; for know that the North will be heard in the cause of Freedom, and those who are not true to her interests in the hour of trial may justly expect to reap the reward of her indignation.

The Whigs here now try to stand upon the ground which they refused to occupy at their National Convention, and the principal effort of their leaders is to prove that General Taylor is, in principle, favorable to the Wilmot Proviso. What say your Southern slaveholders to this?

The speech of Mr. Calhoun on the Oregon bill has certainly done more for the cause of Freedom than any other speech delivered during the session. It has awakened thousands to a sense of their duty, and shown them what they may expect from the South.

Yours, respectfully, W.

Putnam, July 29, 1848.—We are in the midst of a glorious revolution—second only to that of our own '76 in importance to the world, and decidedly in advance of those now going on in Europe. Old things are passing rapidly away, and soon, we trust, all things political may become new.

Every movement imparts new force and dignity and importance to the Free Soil movement. One distinguished name after another is added to the list of advocates for the truth and the right, in such rapid succession, that we are exulting with unfeigned delight in the prospect of speedy and certain triumph.

Even Whigs—Taylor men—of long standing, and yet in the party, admit to me that we *may carry*, as I claim *we shall carry, every free State.*

Walhonding, Ohio, July, 1848.—A little over one-third of the votes in the free States will elect Mr. Van Buren, and settle the question of slavery extension. That is, if every third Whig and Democrat would vote for him, the Liberty party could turn the scale, and elect him. But will Liberty men do it? They should! Because, by so doing, they can settle forever this most important issue, and the one on which all the others hang, viz: that slavery is an evil so great that it shall not have the patronage of the Government nor extension. This would be a very great gain, and exceedingly different from a Missouri compromise or division of the Territories, which, if sanctioned by the People, will be regarded as a solemn decision on their part that slavery is not only as good, but much better than liberty. It will be a decision that the claims of some three hundred thousand slaveholders are equal to the rights of the balance of the some twenty millions of American people. I sincerely hope you will hold this fact up to the gaze of the world. A handful of men claim to be the whole eight millions of the South, and claim for themselves more territory than they are willing, even as a compromise, to allow to twelve millions of the North; and the four millions of free non-slaveholding white men among them they allow no territory and no rights. Now, if slavery is just as good as liberty, and a slaveholder no better than a freeman, a single State, and that a small one, is the utmost the American People should assign to the slaveholders out of the new Territories; for if an enumeration should be taken, and the lands divided accordingly, it would be found to be their full share. If my hasty statistics are wrong, I hope you will take it up, and let us know what the true share of the slaveholders in the new Territories would be.

I do think Van Buren can be elected. Let us have yours, and other papers for the campaign, at fair prices, and even this district may be revolutionized, heretofore regarded as the hardest in Ohio. Though there is, of course, much uncertainty, the prospect is glorious. I was at a large raising yesterday—the company mostly Democrats—and I heard not one hurra for Cass or Taylor. And though I deemed it best to say little, one wealthy and influential Democrat assured me he was going for the nominee of the Buffalo Convention. Eli Nichols.

Ransomville, Niagara County, N. Y., August 15, 1848.—The State of New York will without doubt give Mr. Van Buren a large majority. In the town of Somerset, once almost entirely Democratic, a paper was circulated a few days ago, to ascertain the state of feeling with regard to the different candidates. Mr. Cass received one vote; General Taylor, none. The paper proves to a demonstration that they are the right kind of men there.

While returning from the Buffalo Convention, I was in company with a number of gentlemen from Michigan. They stated that they had travelled much through the State; moreover, they solemnly averred that the State of Michigan would give a large majority for Mr. Van Buren. There is not the least doubt but what the State of Ohio will back the Free Soil and Free Territory candidates with twenty-one electoral votes. It is a fact, that about six thousand from this State alone were in attendance at the Buffalo Convention. Indiana, Massachusetts, Vermont, and, it is firmly believed by many, all of the free States, will declare next November that slavery has attained its utmost limits. Yours, &c.,

J. L. Fowler.

Pace's P. O., Barren County, Ky., August 22, 1848.—As you told your readers there was an Anti-Slavery candidate in this county, some may like to hear how he came out in getting votes. This county gave about 2,800 votes. Glazebrook got but 65—some say 69. This may look discouraging, and it is somewhat so; but, all things considered, I think it is doing well.

It seemed to be the general impression here, (and it was decidedly mine,) that we Liberty men should not embarrass the elections until we came to elect delegates to the Convention to alter our Constitution. Mr. G. came out without any general understanding among his friends, and I think his intention was to issue his circulars, cause as much talk on the subject as possible, and then decline running just before the election. The slavery question was much talked of; the Whigs and Democrats had their full sets of candidates; the Whigs got alarmed, as most of the Liberty men were Whigs, and this county is Whig by no great majority. G.'s friends were influenced by their party preferences; many became clamorous for him to withdraw; all knew there was no chance for his election, and nearly all wished their votes to count where there was some chance of success.

About two weeks before the election, it was proposed that a meeting of G.'s special friends should be held, to consult on the propriety of his holding on. The proposition took—no person dissenting. The meeting was held, and it was decided that he should run the race out. When this was known, the Whigs were roused afresh, (for they expected G. would decline, as that idea went out as soon as he came out as a candidate,) and many threats and fair promises were made. G.'s friends in and about Glasgow were overcome. They drew up a request for G. to withdraw, and all signed it, and presented it to him—(Glazebrook lives in Glasgow.) Amidst all the menaces of friends and foes, all the clashing elements of party strife, G. stood firm. He told the signers of the request that the matter had been decided at the meeting, and he would abide by its decision, as he had agreed to do. So, here was a flare-up between him and many of his strong friends.

Our national affairs are assuming an important aspect. I feel great solicitude on the subject. I am decidedly a Free Territory man. There are many in this region; but Kentucky will go for Taylor—so I think. Yours,

Nicholas W. Jones.

Tipton, Cedar County, Iowa, August 26, 1848.—The nomination of Van Buren and Adams by the Buffalo Convention has sent a thrill of hope and joy through many a heart, in Iowa, that had long beat high for Freedom; and but that each party is afraid of the other, there would be a simultaneous outburst for the *Free Soil Party* in the *Hawkeye State*. This distrust is giving way as the movement becomes more general; and many who were warm partisans at the late election, as *Whigs* and *Democrats*, now take each other by the hand, and pledge themselves to stand together on a higher and holier platform, at the coming Presidential contest.

Primary meetings are being called throughout the State, preparatory to a general Convention.

The party ties which have so long held men from duty are now broken, and the formation of "The People's Party," upon the genuine principles of Democracy, will be the result. Let it be founded upon a scale liberal alike to all, whether *native* or *foreigner*, and it will go far towards fraternizing our country and the world. The better part of the South will soon be with us, and the enlightened spirits of other countries will approve and admire the redemption it shall bring.

Incog.

Salem, Columbiana Co., O.—In the report of the Buffalo Convention, in your columns, and in *all* the journals which I have seen, there occur two errors, which it were well to correct. (1.) In the eighth resolution, (which was identical in this particular with the sixth of the *Ohio series*,) *Typo* has put in that rascally little word "*more*," before "Slave Territory," as though we were disposed to "put up" with our present Slave Territory. The line adopted reads: "No more Slave States, and *no* Slave Territory." It is worthy of correcting.

(2.) Since the wisdom of the People has determined to retain his sage counsel in the Senate, and to confer the command of the army upon some other citizen, it is due to John P. Hale and to Ohio that you correct the *unintentional* mistake, (equally general in its publicity,) which represents Ohio as voting, in the Committee of Conferees—"For Van Buren, 37; Hale, 31; others, 10—78." It was—Hale, 31; Van Buren, 27; others, 10—68. Ohio had but 69 votes in Committee—so I am manifestly right. This, too, has some *little* importance, so *I* guess, Mr. Oliver Dyer. Both the above errors were committed by Mr. O. D. in his "verbatim report." H. L. P.

Washington, Pa., September 1, 1848.—The work has been commenced here in good earnest, and the effect is electrical. I have no hesitation in saying, that if an earnest effort had been made throughout the North, immediately after the nominations of Cass and Taylor, every free State in the Union might have been carried for Van Buren; and I still hope he may be elected. Yours, truly,

Samuel McFarland.

Bakerstown, September 7, 1848.—The Free Soil movement requires only time and prudence to give it prominence far exceeding the influence of the old party organizations. West Dee township, Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, from which this letter is sent, has been almost Whig in its political complexion; but at present many of the most intelligent Whigs are more prominent in the ranks of the Free Soil Jeffersonian Democracy.

In and about our village, the National Era has a considerable, and the Saturday Visiter of Pittsburg a very extensive circulation. Anti-Slavery principles are deep-rooted, and the *ides* of November will in this region tell a story of deep interest to Cass and Taylor.

Enclosed are five dollars for ten copies of the Era during the campaign. You will please commence with Corwin's speech.

Very respectfully, your friend and fellow-laborer in behalf of the oppressed,

Charles C. Guthrie.

Greenfield, Ohio, September 5, 1848.—Taylor men have notices through the country for "Free Soil" Taylor meetings!!! The Cass men the same!!! So you see Free Soil is all the go. No man will hear to anything else but that his favorite candidate will go for Free Soil. So the Buffalo Convention has brought both the old parties together on that point, and there is something gained. But I expect you will say, what a humbug; very likely; but your thunder had such a mighty influence, that they have stolen it, and gone to work; and there is not a man in the land who would risk his character in favor of Slavery-Extension. In those *diggins* the work of reform is going on. A. B. Wilson.

THE MOVEMENT.

Free Soil.—The freemen of the North and West are buckling on their armors, as did their sires in the revolution, to battle for liberty. Van Buren and Adams will make a grand run in some of the States. Their platform of principles, which we will publish in our next, are such as no American ought to be ashamed of. They reverberate upon our ear like the holy breathings of the "Declaration of Independence."

Blue Hen's Chickens, Wilmington, Del.

Mr. Butler, Senator from South Carolina, in his place in the Senate, August 10, 1848, said:

"Sir, pass your law excluding slavery from New Mexico and California, and I would advise my constituents from South Carolina to go out there with their slave property, and with arms in their hands, to protect their rights in these Territories." "I would recommend them to go out there *armed to the teeth* to defend themselves." "How would you oust them from these Territories?" Again: "Sir, whatever law you may pass excluding slavery, I would advise our brethren of the South to set aside that law, and go armed into the Territory, ready to defend themselves and their property. You may call this Nullification, or whatever else you please, but this is what I should do." "Gentlemen propose to admit Irish, Scotch, Germans, Dutch, all the refuse population of Europe, if they choose to go and settle in those Territories. But a *gentleman* from the South and *his negroes* are to be excluded."

One reason why the *South* should sustain *Taylor* for the *Presidency* with great unanimity is—because his nomination affords us a final and unlooked-for chance of electing a *Southern* man to office. The importance of placing at the head of the Government one whose *birth*, ASSOCIATION, and CONNECTION is identified with the South, and will fearlessly uphold her rights and guard her from oppression, cannot fail to strike every mind. In this view, his election becomes a matter of vital moment to the *slaveholding* portion of the Confederacy.—*New Orleans Bee.*

The New York Sun, a paper having sixty thousand subscribers, and about half a million of readers, speaking of the political complexion of things in New York, says: "The Buffalo hunt of the Barnburners bids fair to be as exciting and successful as that preparing for the Sierra Madre. Old Hunker journals, in all parts of the Union, are hauling down the Cass flag, and running up the Free Soil banner; and, from appearances, the Presidential battle will be mainly between Van Buren and Taylor. The Northern and Western Democrats give as a reason for abandoning Cass, that in his principles he is like the Irishman's flea—when they put their finger on him, *he isn't there*. Evidently, the Hunkers of both parties are in hot water, from which nothing but attention to the counsels of the independent press can relieve them."

Free Soil in Missouri.—The *Wochenblatt*, a German paper, published in Hermann, has come out for the Free Soil nominations, and abandoned Cass. This paper is influential in the direction of many hundred voters in the counties of Gasconade, Franklin, Cole, and Osage, where the doctrine of Free Soil and Free Labor is the prominent feeling with the Germans. Elsewhere in Missouri those stanch Republicans do not like to be brought in contact with Slave Labor.

The Cincinnati *Herald* says that ten of the members elect to the Indiana Legislature, six of them Locofocos, are pledged not to vote for any man for United States Senator who is not opposed to both Taylor and Cass.

Phœnixville Pioneer.—This paper, which has hitherto been neutral in politics, has joined the Free Soil party, and raised the Van Buren and Adams ticket.

The Pittsburg Saturday Visiter comes to us enlarged and otherwise improved. Like almost or quite all the Liberty party papers, it hangs out the Van Buren flag.

The Pioneer, New London, Howard county, Indiana, is one of the many Free Soil papers springing up in the West, in obedience to the impulse of the times.

The Pittsburg Chronicle, a daily neutral paper, has run up the Van Buren flag. A new German paper has also been started in Pittsburg. The Tioga Banner, a Democratic paper, has abandoned Cass for Van Buren. A paper published at Conneautville, Crawford county, has come out for Van Buren. Campaign papers are also about to be started in Beaver, Honesdale, and Chester.

A Free Soil daily paper will be established in this city by the committee to whom that matter belongs. The heartiest zeal and greatest liberality is manifested by the men who have the mind and the means to accomplish it. A permanent *free* paper is intended. Philadelphia ought to have one for all purposes and times, as well as for the exigencies of a campaign.

Liberty (*Philadelphia*) *Herald.*

Israel Garrard, Esq., a young gentleman of fine talents, and step-son to Judge McLean, has become associate editor of *The Ohio Standard*, the Central Free Soil Organ of the Buckeyes.

E. P. Tracy, Esq., has become an associate editor with Thomas Y. How, jun., in conducting the *Cayuga New Era*, published at Auburn.

The *Free Soil Platform* is the name of a new campaign paper, supporting Van Buren and Adams, at Akron, Summit county, Ohio.

The *Free Soil Banner* is a paper just established at Indianapolis, Indiana.

The *Rutland Republican* is a handsome Free Soil paper, at Rutland, Vermont.

Allen Shepard has sold the *Boston Republican* to Henry Wilson, of Natick.

The Indianapolis Banner, the Centreville Sentinel, Madison Democrat, Jonesborough Pioneer, and several other papers, support the Buffalo ticket.

The *Elizabethtown* (N. J.) *Journal* comes to us this week with rather an anomalous appearance. The outside of the paper bears the name of Van Buren and Adams, and lo!—presto! change!—when we turned to the inside we find the Taylor and Fillmore flag flying at its mast-head, as usual.

George A. Snyder, Esq., of Selinsgrove, Union county, Pennsylvania, son of Governor Snyder, and a stump orator for Clay in 1844, has joined the Free Democracy. Mr. S. is an accomplished scholar, an able political writer, and an influential Whig.—*Union Times.*

Free Soil in Shenandoah, Virginia.—The Free Soil Convention, which met at Woodstock, on the 20th of July, have adopted Van Buren and Adams as their candidates, and appointed a committee to address the People of Virginia. The following electoral ticket was presented and adopted:

1. Thomas H. Pitts.	10. D. H. Fravel.
2. J. Gilmore.	11. E. Kenna.
3. George Craig.	12. George Rye.
4. David Hottel.	13. J. Sloan.
5. J. Birkshire.	14. T. Freeman.
6. J. W. Steffy.	15. W. Wallace.
7. ————	16. J. Y. Ashenhurst.
8. J. Parkinson.	17. Thomas Wood.
9. Sam. M. Janney.	

Indiana.—The following Electoral Ticket was formed at the Van Buren and Adams State Convention, in Indianapolis, on the 30th ultimo. Hon. H. L. Ellsworth presided, assisted by three Vice Presidents and three Secretaries.

Senatorial Electors.

Henry L. Ellsworth, of Tippecanoe county;
John H. Bradley, of Bartholomew county.

Contingent Senatorial Electors.

E. Deming, of Tippecanoe county;
S. S. Harding, of Ripley county.

District Electors.

1st district	Nathan Little.
2d "	John R. Cravens, of Jefferson co.
3d "	James H. Cravens, of Ripley co.
4th "	George W. Julian, of Wayne co.
5th "	Ovid Butler, of Marion.
6th "	Milton Short, of Lawrence co.
7th "	Albert G. Coffin, of Parke co.
8th "	Samuel A. Huff, of Tippecanoe co.
9th "	Jos. L. Jernegan, of St. Joseph co.
10th "	Lewis Beecher, of Allen co.

Contingent District Electors.

2. John Brazzleton.	7. Abiathar Crane.
3. John P. Milliken.	9. John U. Pettit.
6. E. J. Sumner.	10. Daniel Worth.

Liberty and Free Soil Convention.—A Mass Meeting of members of the Liberty party convened at the Melodeon, Boston, yesterday. The object of the meeting was to consider the propriety

of joining the Free Soil Convention. Wm. Jackson, of Newton, was chosen President, and there were seven Vice Presidents. After some discussion, in which Messrs. Jackson, Joshua Leavitt, Lovejoy of Cambridgeport, and others, took part, the following resolutions were adopted by a large vote:

Whereas, at the Free Soil Convention held at Buffalo, on the 9th of August, of the friends of Freedom of all political parties, a cordial union was effected, embracing a platform of the Liberty party, and candidates for the office of President and Vice President were nominated to represent that platform:

Resolved, That we cordially adopt the platform of principles of said Convention, and are prepared to give our most zealous support to Martin Van Buren and Charles F. Adams.

Resolved, That, at 12 o'clock to-day, this Convention will proceed to the Tremont Temple, and there merge and mingle ourselves with the State Convention of the Free Democracy in forming a State organization, and recommending candidates for the State officers to support the Buffalo platform.

Resolved, That John P. Hale had our hearty confidence when he was nominated for the Presidency; he won our admiration by his course in the Senate; and he has secured the first place in our heart of hearts by his magnanimous course in reference to the Buffalo Convention.

Resolved, That the members of our State Central Committee be requested to act hereafter as a provisional Anti-Slavery Committee, to take such measures as they may think proper to promote the Anti-Slavery cause, especially in its moral and general aspect.

At half-past twelve the Convention met in Tremont Temple, for the purpose of nominating candidates for Governor, &c. John Mills, of Springfield, was chosen Chairman; twelve Vice Presidents, one from each Congressional District, and five Secretaries, were appointed.

Committees were appointed to nominate candidates and report resolutions.

The Convention then adjourned till afternoon.

The Convention assembled again at 3½ o'clock, P. M. Addresses were made by John C. Parks, of Boston; George Bradburn, of Nantucket; John A. Bolles, of Boston; and J. T. Farley, of Groton, without making any nominations. The Convention then adjourned till this (Thursday) morning at 9 o'clock.—*Boston paper.*

Virginia.—A portion of the Whigs of Hanover, the native county of Mr. Clay, assembled on Tuesday, the 21st of August, at the Slash church, and, repudiating the Philadelphia nominations, unfurled their banner to the breeze, with the names of Henry Clay for President, and John Minor Botts for Vice President, inscribed thereon. Fifty-four names are appended to the proceedings, "as citizens of Old Hanover, and stand like pillars of granite, supporting the temple of civil liberty, and bolstering the great cause."

Norfolk (Va.) Argus.

Columbus Delano.—An attempt has been made to produce an impression that this gentleman would support General Taylor. The Cincinnati Herald says this is not the case. At a Free Soil Convention, held in Knox county, to nominate candidates for the Legislature, Mr. Delano defined his position. The following is an extract from the official proceedings:

"Hon. C. Delano, being called for, then took the stand, and in an able speech *again* defined his position—which was, that he was resolved not to support either General Taylor or General Cass, but if he voted for either of the three candidates, it would be Martin Van Buren. He further exhorted the people to keep up the Free Soil organization, and push it forward with energy, as the only means of keeping the Territories free."

Boston, *September* 7, 1848.

Massachusetts Free Soil Convention.—The Free Soil Convention in session here have nominated Hon. Stephen C. Phillips for Governor, and Hon. John Mills, of Springfield, for Lieutenant Governor.

The Electors at large are, Samuel Hoar, of Concord, and William Jackson, of Newtown.

The district Electors are, Joseph Willard, John B. Alley, J. G. Whittier, Matthew Brooks, A. De Witt, James Fowler, Thomas Robinson, Benjamin V. French, P. Leach, and Isaac C. Taber.

The address, which was adopted, reflects severely upon Mr. Webster's course and opinions.

Albany, *September* 8, 1848.

Mass Meeting of Free Soilers in Albany.—The people in favor of the Free Soil movement, which is at present making considerable stir in our midst, held a meeting at the Capitol this evening, at which there were over three thousand attendants, who gave utterance to the most unbounded symptoms of delight and enthusiasm at the progress of their doctrines.

John Van Buren spoke in his usual effective manner on this, his favorite theme, and seemed to arouse in the minds of his followers a determination to do or die in the cause.

Michigan.—The *Ann Arbor True Democrat* says: "Recruits are pouring into the Free Soil camp from every quarter in this State. The books are nearly full already. The question, 'Who is for Free Soil?' is no longer asked—but, 'Who is not for Free Soil?'"

The *Liberty Press*, at Battle Creek, comes out manfully for Van Buren and Adams. A Free Soil campaigner is to be published in the same place.

The *Free Soil Advocate* is the title of a spirited sheet which has just made its appearance in Adrian. Let the Free Soil men of Southern Michigan, in particular, come up to its support.

A correspondent from Jackson, under date of August 10, says: "The Free Soil cause is progressing rapidly. We are organizing in every school district. The masses are with us."

A. F. Bell, member of the last Legislature from Ionia, is out with all his might for Van Buren and Adams.

We say to our friends, at home and abroad, keep the ball rolling.

The *Jackson State Gazette* (Whig) has hoisted the Buffalo nominations.

Congressional Conference.—The Conferees from Bradford, Susquehanna, and Tioga, met at this place last evening, and renominated Hon. D. Wilmot upon the first ballot.

The Democracy of this district will now have an opportunity to show how unyielding is their attachment to the great principle of Freedom with which Mr. Wilmot is identified, and of shielding him from the malicious attacks of its enemies. His triumphant reëlection is certain, by an overwhelming majority.—*Bradford (Pa.) Reporter.*

SHALL WE HAVE SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA?

This is the heading of a long article which appears in the *California Star*, of the 25th of March last. We can only allude to it now by saying, that it is bold, decided, and uncompromising in its opposition to the introduction of Slavery into California. The writer says that there is not a slave in California, and the power of the Home Government is inadequate to their introduction into that Territory. "Those who attempt to transfer their slaves from the east to the west of the Rocky Mountains, will meet with the inevitable loss of their property. They might as well attempt to remove them to New England or to Canada." It is said, "that the simple recognition of Slavery here would be looked upon as a greater misfortune to the Territory than though California had remained in its former state." It declares that neither the soil, the climate, nor the productions of California, are suited to slave labor; and that they could not be held in bondage there. It says that Congress has no right to bequeath such a calamity to the country, contrary to the wishes of the People.—*Baltimore Sun.*

GENERAL TAYLOR IN FAVOR OF COMPROMISE.

The following is an extract of a letter in the *Mobile Herald*, dated East Pascagoula, August 19th. The writer appears to be a frank, candid man, desirous of telling the truth:

"The old man seems to be frank and without craft. He shuns no topic, and, as far as I could discover, is accustomed to utter his opinions without regard to politicians or newspaper editors. Last evening, a group of some dozen or more of us was gathered round him, eagerly listening to an animated conversation, in which his *naive* simplicity of manner was quite charming. He ran through various topics, which he illustrated with excellent sense and varied information. *Speaking of the 'Free Soil' movement in the North, he expressed fears that it would be the absorbing question in the present canvass, and engross all other questions. He said that he considered the 'Missouri Compromise' a fair and liberal line for settling the slave question, and he was willing to see it adopted. He did not hesitate to pronounce slavery an evil, and blightning in its effects upon the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the South.* To this he attributed the decay of Virginia; and he thought it would extend to other slave States. He spoke at some length on the point, and drew many of his illustrations from ancient history. While, however, he regretted the system, he deprecated the foreign attempts to abolish slavery. He thought the agitation on the subject pernicious to both whites and blacks. The two races could not exist together, and a mixed race, such as obtains in Mexico, was the greatest evil that society could be subjected to. No plan of eradicating slavery met his approbation, unless the freed negroes could be removed from the country. He would not emancipate his own slaves, except on condition that they were willing to go to Africa. To the Northern States he would not send them; their condition there would be worse than that of bondage. He thought that if the really philanthropic men of the North, whose efforts to abolish the system are restricting the privileges of the slave, could see its practical operation, the agitation would cease, and there would be less zeal and more wisdom exhibited in the cause. As he expressed it, they would better observe the 'eleventh commandment,' which prescribes that every man shall attend to his own business.

"In reply to a remark made by the person whom he was conversing with, *he said that most of the old party questions were obsolete.* He daily received letters asking his opinion in relation to a United States Bank. To reply to them were idle, for the bank was dead, and it was as wise to think of restoring a dead man to life as to give it a new existence. In all respects, he uttered sentiments which exhibited his unlimited confidence in the will and honesty of the People."

THE FREE SOIL MASS MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia, *Sept.* 4, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Dear Sir: On Thursday evening of last week we had one of the greatest meetings which ever convened in this city. It seems that flesh is actually coming upon the dry bones, and a resurrection to life is now certain. The old spirit of Liberty is beginning to be manifested in Pennsylvania, and her "fierce Democracy," who have hitherto appeared to be "twice dead, plucked up by the roots," are now the foremost in promoting the Free Soil principles. I send you herewith a report of the proceedings of the meeting, taken chiefly from the *Public Ledger*. In a few days you may depend upon a copy of John Van Buren's speech, carefully corrected, for your paper.

In haste, yours truly, Gold Pen.

GRAND FREE SOIL DEMONSTRATION.

Last evening the friends of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and those who are in favor of sustaining the platform adopted by the Buffalo Convention, met in the Chinese Museum in mass meeting.

The large saloon was filled to overflowing before the hour of meeting, and a very large number of citizens, in consequence of the dense throng, found it impossible to get within hearing distance of the speakers.

At half-past 7 o'clock, the assemblage was called to order by James J. Robbins, who nominated the following officers, who were unanimously confirmed by the meeting.

President—B. W. Richards.

Vice Presidents—Jacob Snyder, jun., John Ashton, jun., C. D. Cleveland, James Kay, jun., George L. Heins, Daniel L. Miller, jun., Jonas Wyman, A. Theodore Chew, Samuel Townsend, William B. Thomas, Conrad Liebrich, Andrew Given, Nathaniel P. Brown, D. C. Skerrett, Jonathan Gillingham, L. W. Burnett, William Candiders, Thomas J. Williams, Dr. Henry Bond, George Morrison Coates, Samuel Champion, William Johnson, Dr. C. Hering, David Sellers, L. Mahlke, John J. Robbins, jun.

Secretaries—Eli Dillin, Richardson L. Wright, George Connell, William F. Kintzing, Paschal Coggins.

Upon taking the Chair, the President addressed the meeting as follows:

Fellow-citizens: in taking the Chair with which you have honored me, I will be pardoned in saying a single word. We come up in vast numbers to oppose the extension of slavery. We pretend not to interfere with the rights or privileges of any, but we claim a right to prevent the extension of slavery to the free soil of the Confederacy. This is the broad question which has brought us together as the free citizens of a free State. It is time for us to come up, when we see Senators and Representatives attempting to extend slavery to the soil of Oregon, when its people have said that they will not have slaves. It is time for us to come forth as citizens of Philadelphia, to speak what we truly think upon this subject. I was told before the meeting commenced that those who came here did so out of curiosity. But you have come to consult together upon this subject—God grant that it may not be too late. It is said that it is commenced by rabid persons—but it is not so—you have truly come to consider upon this subject, and proclaim your sentiments against it.

The following preamble and resolutions were then read by Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a son of the Hon. John K. Kane, the recipient of the celebrated "*Kane letter.*"

[We have no room for the resolutions.]

During the reading of the resolutions, Mr. Van Buren, and other gentlemen, entered, and the applause was overwhelming. As soon as it subsided, Colonel Kane proceeded in reading them. After they were finished, the President put the question on their adoption:

Voices—(a large majority)—"Aye."

The "Noes" were quite noisy and loud. Considerable confusion here arose. The President put the question with the same result, and pronounced the resolutions adopted.

The President then introduced Mr. Van Buren to the meeting, who spoke with great ability; and he was followed by Dr. William Elder, of this city, in a speech of surpassing eloquence. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed; and, at 10 o'clock, the meeting adjourned, with three cheers for Free Soil, three for John Van Buren, and three for the nominees of the Buffalo Convention.

FREE SOIL MEETING IN PIKETON, OHIO.

At a meeting of the Free Soil Delegates of the eighth Congressional district, held in Piketon on the 31st of August, 1848, William Silvey, of Ross, was called to the Chair, and Joseph Corson, of Scioto, appointed Secretary.

After invoking a blessing on our labors, the following resolution was offered, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we heartily approve of and accept the Platform adopted by the Buffalo Convention.

On motion, Mr. James McConnell, of Ross county, was unanimously selected as the Elector for this district.

The following resolutions were then offered, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we approve of the course of our member of Congress, Hon. John L. Taylor, and also of Senators Allen and Corwin, on the so-called Compromise bill, and also on the Oregon bill.

Resolved, That, under the existing circumstances, one of the candidates for Congress for this district being in favor of the Free Soil Platform, and it being understood that the other is opposed, we therefore feel it would be inexpedient to nominate a third candidate, but will leave it with our friends to vote as their consciences may direct.

Resolved, That the following-named gentlemen be appointed a Committee of Arrangement and Correspondence for their several counties, with power to add to their numbers: For Ross—William Silvey, Richard Long, and Robert Stewart; for Adams—Silas Thomas, Dr. T. M. Tweed, and James Rodgers; for Jackson—Dr. Isham, ——— Crookham, sen.; for Pike—William Slaughter, John A. Jones, Dr. L. Norton, and John Carolus; for Scioto—L. Moss, William Hicks, and R. S. Silcox.

Resolved, That the Committee of Arrangement and Correspondence be requested to hold a series of meetings in their several counties as soon as practicable.

Resolved, That we recommend to the notice of our friends, for their support, the Cincinnati Campaigner, Herald, Signal, Columbus Standard, and National Era.

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings be sent to every paper in the district, and also to those named in the last resolution, with a request that they will publish them.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

William Silvey, *President.*

Joseph Corson, *Secretary.*

"AND STILL THEY COME."

The annexed letter is published in the *York* (Pa.) *Advocate* of August 22d:

"Baton Rouge, La., *March* 7, 1848.

"Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly communication of the 25th ultimo, and to inform you in reply that the letter therein referred to was, as it purports to be, written by me to the Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll.

"I deem it proper to say, that the statements made in that letter are such as I have frequently made to other persons, and that I have had no desire to conceal from any portion of the people of the country, any of the views therein expressed.

"For many years I have sincerely deprecated, as, I believe, has every true patriot in the Republic, the excesses in the administration of our national affairs, into which party strife has thrown our people; and when, therefore, I was solicited by gentlemen from various quarters of the Union to consent to the use of my name in connection with the Presidency, I consented WITH THE EXPRESS CONDITION THAT I SHOULD NOT BE TIED DOWN TO THE POLITICAL TENETS OF ANY ONE PARTY. To this position I believe I have consistently adhered, and for no consideration can I be induced to abandon it.

"I beg leave to say, in conclusion, that, while it affords me sincere gratification to learn that many of my fellow-citizens approve of the course which I have adopted in relation to this subject, yet I hope that some of them, in so doing, will be induced, by their friendly feelings towards me, not to violate in the slightest degree their due sense of political obligations.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, Z. Taylor.

"*Mr. Samuel G. Bonham, York, Pa.*"

Important Letter from General Taylor—defining his Position, &c.

New Orleans, *Sept.* 7, 1848.

The *New Orleans Delta*, of this morning, publishes another important letter from General Taylor, explanatory of his position as a candidate for the Presidency.

He alludes, with considerable severity, to criticisms on detached parts of his letters, made by party editors, and declares himself Whig in principle, but at the same time no party man. He declares himself emphatically the people's candidate, having been nominated by all parties, and consented to stand as a candidate in the hope that it would have the effect of causing the canvass to be conducted with candor, if not in a more kindly spirit than had previously been the case.

He therefore accepts the nomination of the Whig Convention, with gratitude and pride, and refers to his letter addressed to Captain Allison for his views on all necessary subjects, and promises that, if elected, he will endeavor to cement the Union, and establish the happiness of his country on an enduring basis.

FREE SOIL MOVEMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Dr. Snodgrass on the Stump in the Keystone State—Aspects and Prospects of the Cause there—Letter from him on the Subject—Contemplated Visit to Ohio—The True Position of the Friends of Free Soil, &c.

Kennett Square, Chester Co., Pa., *September* 5, 1848.

Dr. Bailey: Having come here upon the "Free Soil" of Pennsylvania, by desire of some of the friends of Progress, I propose to give you a glance of the aspect of affairs in this region.

My first Free Soil effort was made at Laurel Factory, the establishment of that quondam Democrat, but now warm and energetic Free Soil man, Aaron P. Osmond. The meeting had been called only three or four hours previous, by announcement from the stand of a mass temperance meeting at Auburn, presided over by that warm friend of Teetotalism, Robert Lysle, and yet quite a room full of gentlemen assembled, and considerable of a "sprinkling of ladies." The subject of Free Soil was new to them, there having been no meeting of the kind in the neighborhood previously, and there appeared to be a decided disposition to inquire into the matter. The attention was good, and the conduct orderly, although there were several *Hunkers*, both of the Whig and Democratic schools, in attendance. The known friends of Van Buren, Adams, and Free Soil, thought good had been done by my effort, especially by bringing to a determination to vote with us such as could not have voted for either of the Military Chieftains forced upon their parties respectively, had there not been any other candidates in the field. Well, if we had a prospect of only getting such with us at the polls, we should present a by no means inconsiderable array of numbers; for the number of those whose votes would have been lost to the old parties is very large in this State, beyond question, and the leaders see it to their sorrow! I do not mean to have it inferred that we are making no converts from the ranks of those who had made up their minds to vote "this once" with their old parties, respectively. To the contrary, every flash of light from the Free Soil papers and speakers tells on somebody's mind in this direction. The party managers see this; and hence their constant effort is, to persuade those who are in danger of "conversion from the error of their way," that Taylor and Cass are first-rate Free Soil agents! It is amusing to see the effrontery of some of the handbills stuck up at stores, cross-roads, &c., calling on the friends of "Taylor and Free Soil" to rally to the rescue! As I told them, one of those specimens of trickery would be a decided curiosity to our Southern people, who know their men too well to be disturbed at such "insinuations" of untrustworthiness in *their* candidates. But to proceed with my notes.

The next meeting I addressed was convened on Sunday evening, in the Friends' meeting-house in this place. In view of the day and place, I thought it best not to say much about *political* aspects. Hence I dwelt, for the most part, on the moral aspects of the Slavery question. The assemblage was a good one, and I have reason to believe that my effort was not altogether in vain, although I had no hope of being able to make this people more firm and determined in their opposition to the giant curse of the land. By the way, my anticipations of the cordial hospitality, as well as the reformatory spirit, of the inhabitants of Kennett, have not been disappointed. They are truly a warm and generous souled people, and among them are some of the most thoroughgoing Free Soil men I have ever met with. Among the more prominent of these, I may mention Doctors Stebbins and Taylor, and Messrs. Hayhurst, Preston, Anderson, Chambers, Gause, and others, whose names, if familiar to a stranger, I would not have room to record.

Yesterday evening, I addressed a large and unusually attentive meeting at Marshallton—a place where there had been no previous effort of the kind, and therefore presenting a field of fresh as well as "free" soil, for the culture of the laborer. They bore the truth well, and did not flare up at my candid and blunt efforts to convince them that there was no reliance whatever to be placed in either General Taylor or General Cass—they both being pledged irrevocably to the South, the one by force of local position, prejudice, services, and personal interest, the other by virtue of direct pledges to do his masters' bidding! I was encouraged by the manner in which the meeting (at first rather billowy) settled down into thoughtful attention to a very long effort, to believe that the "moonshine" of pretence, on which they have suffered their steps to be directed, will be fairly and fully eclipsed by the more reliable, because brighter, sunlight of self-evident truth—*so* self-evident, that it takes nothing, beyond the most unpretending oratory, to reveal it, when once they are willing to be guided aright. I think the local friends of the cause would do well to attend to Marshallton. It will yield good fruit when the day for "gathering" shall have come.

I go, this evening, to New Garden; to-morrow evening, to Mechanicsville; on Thursday, to Westchester, where the County Convention for appointment of delegates to the State Convention at Reading, on the 13th instant, meets; on Friday, to Eastland; on Saturday, to Lancaster. Where next, my list of appointments saith not—but, not unlikely, I shall look in upon the Reading Convention myself. The prospect of its being a very large Convention, where will converge many of the strong men and true who have joined in our movement, and of meeting John Van Buren and other distant friends there, tempts me to go, notwithstanding my anxiety to get back to Baltimore, in order to prepare for a visit to Ohio, in answer to a kind invitation from some of the leading men of her immense delegation to Buffalo, who assured me that the end for which my soul pants (usefulness) can best be attained there, and to whom I desire this intimation to serve as a time-saving answer of assent. *When* I shall set out for Ohio, I cannot now exactly say. And here let me say, that I shall go to Ohio with the full approbation of my Maryland co-laborers, who insist upon it that but a comparatively few localities of Maryland could be operated upon efficiently by my humble efforts. In the Free Soil field that is so encouragingly opening in that slaveholding State, they promise to bear the burden and heat of the day, themselves. I mention this by way of preëxplanation to such of our Free Soil friends in other States as might be at a loss to know how I came to absent myself during a considerable portion of the contest, and that during the thickest of the fight.

Surely if, as my brethren in arms think, they can get along better without than with my poor services, I may be allowed to go where all think I can be useful. I am not so sure that my worthy colleagues are altogether correct in their conclusion as to my reception in the less liberal districts of our State; but, since they *think* as they do, I would certainly embarrass them by coöperation. In Ohio, as here, the fact, which, it is alleged, would prevent my general usefulness in Maryland, will, I take it for granted, become promotive of my usefulness on the "stump," rather than the opposite; for it does not require much argument to show to all reasonable people in the free States, in the language of John Van Buren's letter to our Convention, "how free we are from the charge of attempting either to create or destroy slavery in the States where it now exists." Indeed, so far as not a few of this people are concerned, the great difficulty is, to persuade them that the "Free Soil" movement is worthy of their sympathy as Abolitionists, who *do* seek the destruction of slavery through all constitutional means. It would be worse than waste of time, to attempt to convince such that they should vote for Mr. Van Buren on "Abolition" grounds, however they admire his firmness in taking the stand he has so nobly taken upon the principle of *Restrictionism.*

I do not mean to say that the class of people I have been referring to, for the purpose of illustrating our true position, will generally omit to vote the Free Soil ticket. To the contrary, I find those of them, at every turn, who will gladly sustain our candidates. Their presence at my meetings, and their approving sympathy, where I have had no opportunity of conversing with them, clearly indicate that they will not feel privileged to disregard the opening for doing good now presented before them. Hence "Van Buren, Adams, and Free Soil" will attract to the polls thousands who have not cast a ballot for many years. In this movement they discover a degree of hearty *principle*, searched for in vain in the parties which have heretofore solicited their suffrages. It is not "politics" that they have been wont to shun, so much as the *unprincipled partisanism* that has been wearing that name! Let the political atmosphere become once purified by the electric currents of Heaven-descended truth, that are now everywhere flashing from soul to soul, and there will be few voters absent from the polls.

Rejoicing to be able to assure you that the Free Soil movement is doing a glorious work in the Keystone State, I subscribe myself hopefully yours, J. E. Snodgrass.

THE GREAT CLAY MEETING IN NEW YORK.

The New York Tribune says, that the Clay rally at Vauxhall, on Thursday night, was one of the largest, and, by all odds, the most enthusiastic political meetings which has been held in that city this year. Ten thousand persons were in attendance, and the enthusiasm was unmistakably genuine, and at times rose to a pitch that seemed almost frantic. Hon. Willis Hall, formerly Attorney General of the State, presided. In his introductory speech, he examined Gen. Taylor's claims to the Presidency.

E. Delafield Smith, Esq., and Dudley Selden, also spoke. Mr. Selden said he believed that Clay could carry New York by 50,000 majority, and in the House, would be chosen. An address and resolutions were adopted; one of the resolutions recommends the immediate nomination of an electoral ticket.

A telegraphic despatch was received from John M. Botts, telling them to go ahead. The meeting adjourned, and a procession was formed, which proceeded to the residence of David Graham, Esq., who made an eloquent speech. They also paid a visit to Mr. Greeley.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

Gibson Square, London, *August* 25, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Dear Sir: In consequence of the determination of Mr. D'Israeli and certain other Parliamentary orators, to hear themselves speak, we have not, as by this time I had hoped we should have, arrived at the close of this session. With the exception of the troublesome members referred to, everybody is wearied and worn out with what is now termed "the Monster Session." In the language of a witty cotemporary, "Many of the short-hand writers are beginning to suffer dreadfully from the nausea, consequent upon attending this long session. The Times says it never had such a time of it; the Chronicle says it would not go through it again for anything; the Herald asserts that it is fairly knocked up; the Post only wishes that every member may be subjected for once in his life to the same torture, and then they will know what it is; the Daily News heard of the Inquisition, but doubts if it was ever so bad as the House of Commons; the Morning Advertiser questions seriously if a night cabman's existence is not a much happier one than a reporter's. Lord John should, if he wishes to show the least sympathy for patient toil and suffering talent, present them each with £200 a year; only we fear there is very little hope for them, unless they are related to one of the thousand Greys, or happen to know the butler of the Duke of Bedford, or can prove they have done nothing, and are fit for nothing; in which case, if there is a lord or a viscount amongst them, he will probably be sent somewhere, at a handsome salary."

In harmony with these not very loyal sentiments of the cotemporary to whom I am indebted, and who is no other than the renowned Punch, we are presented with a cartoon of the Premier, standing before the curtain of a theatre, making his *congé* to his audience, and informing the ladies and gentleman that, by their permission, the same "farce" shall be repeated next session.

The real object of D'Israeli and the party he aspires to lead, was to frighten Lord Palmerston out of his determination to join with France in mediating between Austria, Lombardy, and Sardinia. The Tory party here are delighted at the success of the Austrian arms, and were anxious that the conquerors should gain for the cause of despotism all the advantages attainable from their recent victories. The effort, bold and vigorous though it was, is a complete failure; the mediation is effective, and the work of carnage will cease in Lombardy.

The Parliamentary business of the last fortnight has consisted principally in voting away the public money with the usual *liberality*—the opposition made by economists proving always ineffective. An instance of this liberality is the new vote of £9,827, for maintaining the Government of Lebuan for the next year. Mr. Brooke, who came back to this country last year, and was lionized everywhere on account of the efforts he had made to put down piracy in Borneo, is now Rajah Sir James Brooke; and to this we have no objection, but he is, in addition, the Governor of Lebuan, with a salary of £2,000, and Consul, at another salary of £500; and when Mr. Hume objects to this liberality, he is comforted by the assurance from Lord Palmerston, that the work is done uncommonly cheap, and that it is quite impossible to get a man to go out as Consul for £500 a year—the *smallness* of the salary arises from Sir James Brooke being appointed in another capacity. Sir James Brooke is a very interesting man in many respects; but when we were admiring many of his proceedings, we were not aware we should so soon be called to pay for them.

The friends of the voluntary principle have now some hope, that, by next session, they may get rid of the paltry English *regium donum*, consisting of £1,695 per annum, voted to dissenting ministers, and distributed among 300 of them, in sums averaging £5 each. It is hoped that next year, by voluntary effort, a sufficient sum will be raised to deprive the distributors of the grant of the power to compromise the great principle which they annually sell at this price to the Government.

A great deal of time was wasted, on Tuesday evening, on the currency question, which brought up Sir Robert Peel, and drew from him a very clever defence of the last of his errors, and one which it is predicted he will, before very long, see it right to abandon.

The opposition of Lord George Bentinck to the Sugars Duties bill, though kept up with perseverance, is quite ineffective, and that measure, with the Health of Towns bill, may be expected to become law next week.

In reference to Anti-Slavery topics, you will perceive that Lord Denman has moved for the prosecution of all British subjects directly or indirectly concerned in violating the laws against slavery, and also for concerting measures with our allies for declaring the slave trade piracy, "with a punishment less severe than that now incurred according to the law of nations, for that crime." He denounced the slave trade as one of the worst of human crimes. His opinion was, that not only might the negro carried away into slavery resist, but that any man not prohibited by the laws of his country, or the laws of any other country, would be justified in assisting a negro thus carried into slavery, in obtaining freedom and justice.

Lord Denman denounces the opinion that our attempts to suppress the slave trade had, in fact, increased it; and that, to put down the trade, it should be left entirely free. He therefore advocated the maintenance of the African coast blockade. "He said he could prove that the slave trade could be suppressed, and that in various parts of the coast it had been discouraged, harassed, and suppressed." In the course of his advocacy of the African squadron, Lord Denman deprecated the deference shown to the judgment of Dr. Cliffe, on the best means of putting down the trade. He was "a slave-trader; that is, a robber, a pirate, a felon." "The idea of calling upon a slave-trader, and asking him what was the best mode of suppressing the slave trade, in which he had been engaged, appeared to him to be one of the most preposterous proceedings he had ever heard of. It was like consulting a wolf as to the best mode of preserving the sheep." Lord Denman maintains that it is in the power of England, France, and America, effectually to put down the traffic carried on from the African coast, and he urges greater earnestness in the efforts made for this purpose. His lordship gained nothing, however, by his motion.

Attention is now being directed to the approach of the cholera, which has appeared in Berlin, and is gradually advancing to our shores. We have a good deal of diarrhœa, as we had in 1831, and this is regarded as a precursor of the awful pestilence. The important points, however, seem established, that the epidemic is not contagious, and also that in every case it has its premonitory symptoms; which, if treated in proper manner, give effectual and timely warning to enable the invalid to provide the means of recovery.

London has been mercifully preserved from a conflagration, which was to have been produced on the evening of last Wednesday week, by a desperate set of men, a portion of whom are now in custody, in consequence of information given by one of their number. I believe the Government is not aware of the extent of the preparations made by these persons, and that there is still a great deal of secret combination of infatuated and wicked men, who imagine they have the sympathy, and are prepared to become the benefactors of the country.

We have had wet weather for the last fortnight, in consequence of which the wheat in many places previously out is beginning to *grow*, and serious apprehensions were entertained. Yesterday the wind veered from southwest to northwest, the day is cooler, the barometer is steadily improving and our fears are in some measure allayed. There is, however, a general, but by no means universal failure of the potato harvest.

Yours, most truly, W. O.

LETTER FROM JOSHUA LEAVITT.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LIBERTY PARTY.

Mr. Leavitt, who acted a prominent part in the proceedings at Buffalo, has addressed a letter to the Liberty men of the United States, from which we extract the essential portion:

"I left home for Buffalo, under anxious apprehensions that the Liberty party, after a pure and honorable career, thus far, might be brought to a dishonorable end. I feared that, under the pressure of a deep desire to stay the spread of Slavery, and amid the excitement of an immense assembly, our members would be hurried away to abandon our platform of principles, and basely desert our loved and admired standard bearer, so as to weaken his hands and discourage his heart in the commanding position in which his merits and our confidence had placed him. We were all actuated by so intense a desire for union, that I was afraid we should lay our platform too weak in its foundation, or too narrow in its compass, to hold up the ordnance with which we must batter down the citadel of slavery. Just before the Convention, some of the papers friendly to Mr. Van Buren declared that the Utica nomination could not be withdrawn, and that Mr. Van Buren must be a candidate, whether he should obtain the nomination at Buffalo or not. His letter to the Utica Convention was too unsatisfactory to us to be the basis of union, and the appearance of dictation was too disrespectful to be submitted to without a sacrifice of self-respect. And yet I feared that the friends of Mr. Hale would be so much in haste to make sacrifices for the cause, that they would yield to all this without duly considering what we owed to the honor of the Liberty party and its candidates.

"As I travelled somewhat leisurely through the State of New York, I was agreeably impressed by the tone of candor and respect which the friends of Mr. Van Buren exhibited towards Mr. Hale and the Liberty party, and the utter absence of anything like attempts either to coax or coerce us to the support of their candidate. They seemed to appreciate the delicacy of our position, by its resemblance to their own; and to feel that it would be better for us to continue our separate organizations, than that either should be given up with dishonor. Indeed, both their hopes and my own, of effecting a satisfactory union, were far from being as strong as our wishes were ardent.

"My position, during all the proceedings of the Convention, was as favorable as could be desired for forming a correct judgment as to their character. I was a member of the informal or Provisional Committee appointed by the delegates who were on the ground the day before the Convention. The necessary preliminary arrangements were all completed with admirable harmony and despatch, until we came to consider the mode of procedure by which the business before us was to be transacted in such an immense assembly, with the requisite deliberation, and with due regard to the rights and wishes of all. Here we were distracted with a variety of schemes, almost as many as there were minds. The subject was at length referred to a select committee of one from each State represented; and this committee, after an ineffectual attempt to come to some conclusion, put it into the hands of a sub-committee, consisting of Hon. Mr. Bascom, of Seneca Falls, Hon. Mr. Hamlin, of Columbus, both Whigs; Dr. Snodgrass, of Baltimore, and myself. Next morning three projects were presented and considered, and Mr. Bascom's plan was unanimously approved, reported, and adopted, and it carried us happily through, without the least jarring or confusion.

"In the organization of the Convention, I became a member of the Committee on Resolutions, consisting of three from each State represented, on whom devolved the duty of framing a platform of principles to be the basis of our political union. This general committee, after consultation, referred the work to a sub-committee of seven, whose labors, as I was not among them, I would commend with unqualified approval, did they not speak for themselves in a manner wholly above my feeble praise. Before the meeting of the committee on Thursday morning, the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Massachusetts, met me with a sad heart, and said he did not know what to do, for he could not see how it was possible he should agree to support Mr. Van Buren, without a sacrifice which no man ought to make. But after the committee had met and received the report of the sub-committee, with the announcement that it was unanimous, Mr. Phillips took the first opportunity to speak, and with deep emotion declared, that if that platform could be accepted with equal unanimity by the Committee, and if the Convention itself would adopt it as their basis, there was nothing else the Convention might do which he would not support cheerfully and cordially. All this was done with perfect ease, and to universal satisfaction and delight. The way was now prepared for the selected delegates from the several States to retire and make the required nominations, to represent and carry out the objects of the platform.

"At this stage, before the first or 'informal' ballot, it became necessary, in the opinion of the Conferees, to hear from Mr. Van Buren, through his most intimate and faithful friend, Hon. Benjamin F. Butler. Mr. Butler's course in the committees had been such as to win the respect and confidence of all, thus far, and he was listened to with the deepest interest, in a detailed statement of the steps by which Mr. Van Buren had been brought to consent to the use of his name by the Utica Convention, when it seemed necessary to the support of his old political friends, in their separation from the party, as represented in the Baltimore Convention. This consent was given when the movement was confined to his own State and his own party, and before any mortal could have foreseen such a movement as this. Mr. Butler also detailed with great frankness the rapid change which had taken place in his own views and the views and feelings of his friends on this whole subject of slavery, and his cordial satisfaction in the platform, for which he gave much credit to Mr Chase, of Cincinnati, the chairman of the conferees. Referring again to Mr. Van Buren, he said it was impossible to say whether he would assent to the platform, as he had not seen it, and could not, for it was adopted only three hours ago. But if he should receive the nomination, his acceptance of it would include his cordial approval of the platform, and consent to stand as *its* representative before the country. And he would say, from all he knew of Mr. Van Buren, he had not a doubt that he would *thus accept the nomination*, if the Convention should offer it to him, nor that he would give his most cordial support to the cause, if any other individual should receive the nomination. He then read a letter which Mr. Van Buren had, of his own accord, addressed to the New York delegation, in which he evidently threw himself wholly into the cause, in a manner which at once conciliated the unhesitating confidence of us all, that he was with us, and his name was before the Convention in a manner that was entirely satisfactory.

"Mr. Hale had written a letter, confiding the disposal of his name before the Convention unreservedly to the united judgment of Samuel Lewis, H. B. Stanton, G. C. Fogg, and myself, and we had unanimously agreed that it would be our duty to place his name before the Convention on precisely the same terms with Mr. Van Buren's. This was done by Mr. Stanton. Judge McLean's name was absolutely withdrawn by Mr. Chase, who, however, stated that the Judge was wholly and earnestly with us. The roll was then called, each delegate voting *viva voce*, as an experiment, preparatory to the regular or binding vote. The result gave Mr. Van Buren a plurality of about 40 above Mr. Hale, and a majority of 22 above all others. Many of Mr. Hale's friends had become so fully satisfied that the interests of the common cause would be best promoted by giving the nomination to Mr. Van Buren, that they voted for him, even on the informal trial, thinking it might have an ill effect if he should not have a handsome majority on this vote.

"On the announcement of the result, which was received with considerate forbearance by the majority, the eyes of our friends were turned to me, and with a general willingness that I should have the honor of closing this business by the voluntary surrender of Mr. Hale. And with the advice of a few of those friends whose counsels have never misled us, I mounted the platform to perform one of the most solemn acts of my life. After giving a very brief sketch of the objects, principles, and history of the Liberty party, and of Mr. Hale, I said that this union had fully embodied in its platform both of our essential principles and our policy, of independent organization in favor of Liberty and against Slavery, irrespective of our former party connections. We had fully redeemed our pledges of honor to Mr. Hale, who agreed with us in doing 'everything for the cause, and nothing for men.' I knew I was acting in entire accordance with his wishes, in making a motion that the result of the informal ballot should be recorded, and that Mr. Van Buren should be unanimously nominated as our candidate for the Presidency. The delight and enthusiasm with which this was responded to, was full of hope for our cause. I shall never forget the scene.

"A member of the Ohio Delegation now proposed that Hon. Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, be our candidate for Vice President. A speech from Rev. Edward Smith, of Ohio, urging that as the Liberty party had secured their principles, it was no more than fair to give others the men; and that, as we were a party for 'principles, not men,' we had got all we wanted, carried the Conference as with a whirlwind. I confess I was one of the first to yield to its resistless power. And so our work was done."

Vermont Election.—The result in 124 towns of the vote for Governor is thus stated:

1848.

Coolidge.	Dillingham.	Shaffer.
12,307	7,071	8,525

1847.

Eaton.	Dillingham.	Brainerd.
12,477	10,164	4,329

The Cass party is the third party. The result is no test of the real strength of the Free Soil party. Thousands of Whigs voted for their own candidates in the State election, who will probably either not vote at all, or support the Free Soil ticket next November.

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMER HIBERNIA.

SIX DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

Boston, *September* 8—11 A. M.

The royal mail steamer Hibernia, Capt. Shannon, was telegraphed off Boston at an early hour this morning, and arrived at her wharf about 8 o'clock A. M.

The Hibernia sailed from Liverpool August 26, thus making her passage in less than 13 days. She brings six days later intelligence from all parts of Europe than that brought by the Washington. The following is a summary of the news brought by her:

REPORTED REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

Advices from Breslau, to August 16, say that a revolution has broken out simultaneously in St. Petersburg and Warsaw.

Travellers who have arrived at London from Russian Poland unanimously confirm this intelligence.

The Emperor has fled to Cronstadt, and a Provisional Government has been established at St. Petersburg.

The Prussian messenger from St. Petersburg has arrived at Breslau with the Vienna mail. This same train has also conveyed a Russian courier, who says he will not vouch for the authenticity of this intelligence from our correspondent, who in general may be relied upon, although we must confess there are grounds for disquietude, on account of the uncertainty of all news coming from Russia.

The Breslau Gazette contains the same intelligence, but adds, that nothing has been heard of the *emeute* that is reported to have broken out at Warsaw; that intelligence, therefore, appears to be without foundation. The London Times, of the 26th, however, doubts this.

The Cholera.—The Vienna papers of the 17th and 18th, received this morning, state that the cholera is raging in the interior of the empire, and that the disease is exceedingly malignant at Riga, where as many as one hundred are carried off daily, out of a population of 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.

AFFAIRS IN IRELAND.

Irish affairs have lost much of their interest, and now begin to be regarded with total indifference, not only by the people, but by the Government. The State trials have, so far, resulted in the conviction of only one of the chief leaders. John Martin, proprietor of the Felon newspaper, has been found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' transportation.

In the case of O'Doherty, the second jury were unable to agree upon the verdict. He is still confined, and at the next commission the trial will be again repeated. The Government have determined upon issuing a special commission for the trial of Smith O'Brien and the other captured leaders in Tipperary.

In every part of Ireland, the reports give but poor hopes of saving the great bulk of the potato crop; added to which, it is even reported that the grain crops will be below an average.

THE CHARTISTS.

The Chartists of England and Scotland have caused some uneasiness in the public mind for some time past, but the abortive attempt at revolution, made at the close of last week, has considerably mitigated the fears previously indulged in, not only by the people but by the Government. The discovery of pikes, pistols loaded to the muzzle, daggers and swords, ball cartridges, powder, balls, lucifers, &c., show the existence of a conspiracy, wide-spread in its nature and diabolical in its designs. These designs appear to have embraced extensive incendiarism in the metropolis and the chief towns in the manufacturing districts, coupled with which were to have been massacre, robbery, and the destruction of Governmental authority.

FRANCE.

The news from the Continent generally is of a pacific character. In the early part of the week there was a little uneasiness in regard to France. Much apprehension exists as to the probability of another outbreak in Paris, and the occurrences of the week seem to show cause for the anxiety so generally expressed.

The socialist confederacy has extensive influence amongst the operatives of Paris, Lyons, and all the principal cities of France, and the audacity maintained by Proudhom, Louis Blanc, and others implicated in the former contest, strengthens the presumption that the Government are unwilling to proceed against them, from the fear of consequences.

The European Times says, all Europe has been amazed at the disclosures which have been made by the publication of the report on the late insurrection. Never, in the history of the world, has such a mess of folly, crime, secret villany, and open violence, infatuation, and reckless daring, been presented to the world. It is quite impossible, from the vast prolixity of the report, which occupies three huge volumes, to give to our readers anything like a summary of the contents.

LOSS OF THE PACKET SHIP OCEAN MONARCH.

Terrible Loss of Life.—The Ocean Monarch, Captain Murdock, left Liverpool on the 24th of August, with 360 steerage passengers, 6 in the first and 22 in the second cabin, and, with her crew, had on board 398. She had not proceeded far, however, before the utmost consternation was produced by an announcement that the ship was on fire; and scarcely had the alarm been given when she was in a complete blaze.

At the time the fire was discovered, the vessel was about eight miles to the eastward of the Great Arms Head, and several vessels were in sight, and signals of distress were immediately answered by a yatch belonging to Sir Thomas Littledale, which was about six miles distant.

The Brazilian frigate Alfonso was out on a pleasure excursion; when no time was lost in bearing down to her, and it was their intention to anchor directly under her bow, but the wind changed a little, and prevented this from being accomplished.

Four boats were, however, at once lowered, and were soon followed by the large paddle box boat.

Of those on board the Ocean Monarch, 32 were saved by the Queen of the Ocean, 160 by the Alfonso, 16 by a fishing smack, and 17 by the ship Prince of Wales, being a total of 225 saved—leaving 153 to be still accounted for.

The New World was in the neighborhood, and sent her boats, and was the means of saving a great number. A noble fellow, a seaman belonging to the New World, went to the wreck when there was little hope of saving any more, and stuck to the hulk of the vessel until every soul had left her. It is said this praiseworthy individual, by his own hands, lowered 100 persons to the boats below, of whom a great portion were women and children.

The stewardess of the Ocean Monarch lost her life in consequence of attempting to get the powder out of the cabin. There were about 25 lbs. on board, and when she went below to get it, it was supposed she suffocated.

ITALY.

The Italian question is yet unsettled. The wanton siege and bombardment at Bologne fully exemplify the old spirit of Austrian despotism, while the patriotism and valor of the citizens, and the manifestations that have taken place in their favor, show that the spirit of resistance has not been quelled by recent reverses. Charles Albert's addresses evince unabated courage and confidence.

The intervention of France and England continues, and rumor goes so far as to ascribe to Austria and the Frankfort Assembly a readiness to be content with the frontier of the Adige, leaving Lombardy to join itself to Piedmont or Switzerland. This may form the basis of a settlement, but only a temporary one. There cannot be a permanent peace while Austria retains sway over any portion of the peninsula.

SCHLESSWIG WAR.

From the seat of war in Schleswig, there is little news. Correspondents speak of an armistice and a peace as about to be concluded by the belligerent Powers, but rumor has said the same for many weeks past.

THE MARKETS.

Liverpool, *August* 26.

Breadstuffs.—Indian corn, 36*s.* a 38*s.* per quarter of 480 lbs. Indian meal, 16*s.* 6*d.* a 17*s.* 6*d.* per barrel. Flour, limited sales, 33*s.* 6*d.* a 35*s.*

London, *August* 25.—The price of flour to-day is 25*s.* to 30*s.* per barrel.

Money Market.—The London Times, of the 26th August, states that up to the previous evening the English funds had experienced a rise of ½ per cent. The quotation of consols for the day was 86⅓ a 86¼, and the weather continuing tolerably clear, the effect of a number of purchases was to send them up to 86⅝. For the 27th August, the best price was 86⅝ a 86¾. Bank stock closed at 86¾ a 86⅞, 3¼ per cents, 87¼ a 87¾; long annuities, 87⅛ a 87 5-16; India stock, 238 a 242; India bonds, 19*s.* a 23*s.* premium, and exchequer bills, for March, 32*s.* a 35*s.*; for June, 25*s.* a 28*s.* premium.

Great Fire.—A most destructive fire broke out in Brooklyn, last Saturday night, and destroyed hundreds of buildings. Several lives were lost.

A Free Soil Meeting was held in this city last night, and measures taken to organize a club.

Free Soil Paper.—*St. Louis, Sept.* 7—6 P. M. The first number of the "*Barnburner*," a new Free Soil paper, was issued this afternoon.

MOUNT PLEASANT BOARDING SCHOOL FOR BOYS, AMHERST, MASS.

REV. J. A. NASH, A. M., PRINCIPAL.

THE Winter Session of this school will commence on Wednesday, Nov. 1, 1848, and continue to April 1, 1849, five months. Pupils are received from eight to sixteen years of age. The number is limited to twenty-five.

Terms.—For tuition, board, washing, mending, fuel, and lights, $80 per half year, in advance. Catalogues and circulars, containing together with a list of the pupils and their residences, a statement of the character, plan, and object of the school, may be obtained by addressing the Principal at Amherst. Aug. 31.—4t*

GATES ACADEMY, MARLBOROUGH, MASS.

THE Fall Term of this Institution will commence September 12. Tuition in English, $4 per term, and 50 cents for each additional language. Writing and Vocal Music will be taught at a very slight additional charge per week. Lectures will be given on Geology, Ancient History, Chemistry, &c.

The Institution has a good Geological and Mineralogical Cabinet, also a Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus.

Every effort will be made, on the part of the Teachers, to facilitate the progress of the scholars.

Board, washing, &c., in the family of the Preceptor, or in private families, $2 per week. Terms twelve weeks.

Aug. 24.—6t O. W. ALBREE, A. W. RICE, } Teachers.

LEVI COFFIN,

COMMISSION MERCHANT, and Dealer in Free Labor Dry Goods and Groceries, northwest corner of Ninth and Walnut streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. Aug. 24.—3m

BOSTON PIANO FORTE MANUFACTORY.

THE subscribers having removed from No. 402 and 406, (where they have been located for about twenty years past,) to their new manufactory. No. 400, Washington street, Boston, will continue to manufacture Piano Fortes of every description. They have the exclusive right for manufacturing Coleman's patent Æolian Attachment in Massachusetts, with the right to vend in all parts of the country.

Every instrument purchased as above is warranted to give entire satisfaction, or the purchase money will be refunded. Any orders by mail executed at as low prices as if the purchaser were present, and warranted as above.

T. GILBERT & CO.

Firm—T. Gilbert and Wm. H. Jameson. Aug. 24.—tf

FARM FOR SALE.

FOR SALE, a Farm, half a mile from, and commanding an excellent view of, the flourishing town of Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, containing eighty acres, well improved. It has a large brick house, two frame barns, an orchard of grafted fruit trees, an inexhaustible supply of the best of soft water in wells and springs, a well of soft water in the kitchen. House and yard well shaded with trees. A healthy and beautiful country seat. JONAS D. CATTELL,

Feb. 3.—tf Salem, Ohio.

LARD FOR OIL.

LARD WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lard. Apply to

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,

Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

PRINTERS' MATERIALS.

TYPE FOUNDRY.—The subscribers have taken the Type Foundry, No. 59 Gold street, and will continue the business heretofore conducted by Robert Taylor. They will attend to all orders they may receive with punctuality and despatch. All the Type manufactured by them will be hand cast, and they will furnish all kinds of Printers' Materials of the best quality.

Mr. J. A. T. Overend is still employed in superintending the manufacturing department.

WHITING & TAYLOR,

Successors to Robert Taylor, corner of Gold and Ann streets, New York.

Charles Whiting. *Theodore Taylor.* } Jan. 20.—tf

DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY,

CONTAINING the entire debate in the Senate on Mr. Hale's bill for the Protection of Property in the District of Columbia, (growing out of the attack of the mob on the office of the National Era, in April last;) the speeches of Messrs. Tuck and Giddings, in the House of Representatives, on the bill providing for payment for a slave who escaped from his master during the last war with Great Britain, and is supposed to have taken refuge on board a British vessel of war; speeches of Messrs. Hale, Niles, and Dix, in the Senate, on the bill to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon; and Mr. Corwin's great speech on the Compromise Bill.

The above make a pamphlet of 64 pages, large octavo, in small type. Price—$4 per hundred; single copies, 6 cents.

For sale by BUELL & BLANCHARD,

Aug. 17. Office of the National Era, Washington.

WATER CURE.

BROWNSVILLE WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT, *Fayette County, Pennsylvania.*—The friends of Hydropathy, also the public in general, are respectfully informed that this Establishment, built expressly for the purpose, has now been in successful operation since August, 1847.

The building is 70 feet by 30, two stories high, and will comfortably accommodate 25 patients—every room is well ventilated and neatly furnished. The sleeping, bathing, and dressing-rooms, for ladies, are as entirely separated from those of the gentlemen, as if in different buildings; also separate parlors. The bathing rooms are furnished with all the necessary baths for undergoing a successful treatment.

Numerous pure soft-water springs surround the Establishment; pleasant and retired walks among the neighboring hills are abundant, and the exertion of reaching the summits is amply repaid by the beautiful views over a most picturesque country.

Dr. Baelz, the proprietor, who resides in the Establishment, has had several years' experience in this popular mode of practice, and, early in the ensuing summer, expects to be joined by Dr. Mason, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, who is now visiting the best establishment in England.

The Establishment has been so far well patronized, and no pains will be spared to make it as comfortable and agreeable to invalids as the system will admit of.

The terms are as follows: For patients, $6 per week, to be paid weekly. Very feeble patients are required to bring their own nurses; board can be had for them in the Establishment, at $2 per week. Each patient is required to bring the following articles—two linen or cotton sheets—two woollen blankets—six coarse towels—either three comfortables, or a light feather bed—likewise, an old linen and flannel sheet, for bandages—and one injection instrument.

The following diseases are successfully treated, and a cure effected, if there be no disorganization of the parts, or the disease of too long standing: Fevers; Intermitting Fevers, or Ague; Inflammation of the Lungs, Stomach, Bowels, Liver, Spleen, and Kidneys; Dyspepsia; Asthma; Rheumatism, acute and chronic; Sciatica and Lumbago; Gonorrhœa; primary and secondary Syphilis; Scrofula; Nervous Diseases; partial Paralysis; Neuralgy; Sick Headache; Palpitation of the Heart; Hypochondriasis; Dropsy; Jaundice; Habitual Costiveness; Delirium Tremens; Spasms of the Stomach and Bowels; Spinal Affections; Chronic Dysentery, or Diarrhœa; Tetter, Ringworm, Scald Head, &c. Female Diseases as Prolapsus Utari, or bearing down of the Womb; excessive, painful, and obstructed Menstruation.

Feb. 3.—6m

BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL,

UNDER the direction of Miss A. G. Snow and E. J. Thompson, Summer street, corner of Schuylkill Sixth street, opposite the Church, Philadelphia.

TERMS PER QUARTER.

Junior Class.—Spelling, Reading, Writing, Geography, History, Arithmetic, and the Elements of Philosophy and Physiology—from $5 to $7.

Intermediate Class.—Continuation of the above, with French, Grammar, Composition, Botany, Natural History, Latin, and Drawing—from $8 to $12.

Senior Class.—Continuation of English and French studies, Ancient and Modern History and Geography, Mythology, Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Astronomy, Geology and Chemistry, Rhetoric, Algebra, Geometry, Evidences of Christianity, Butler's Analogy, with the standard Poetical Works—from $12 to $20.

EXTRAS.

Piano Forte, $10 to $20 per quarter.
Harp, $15 to $25 per quarter.
Guitar, $10 to $15 per quarter.
Painting in Water Colors, $5 to $10 per quarter.
Painting in Oil Colors, $10 to $15 per quarter.
The Italian, Spanish, and German Languages, each, $5 per quarter.
The higher branches of mathematics $10 per quarter.
Board and Tuition, $40 to $60 per quarter.
Fuel for the season, $2.

The school will reopen on the 1st of September. Quarters of eleven weeks.

Pupils will be charged only from the time they commence their studies.

Young ladies, not members of the school, may receive instruction in any of the above branches.

REFERENCES.

Rev. Dr. Ducachet; Rev. Kingston Goddard; Rev. N. S. Harris; Matthew L. Bevan, Esq.; Hon. John Swift, mayor of Philadelphia; Professor Dunglison, of Jefferson College; Hon. Edmund Burke, Washington, D. C.; Miss Mary Lyon, Principal of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, South Hadley, Mass. Aug. 24.—o

Philadelphia, August, 1848.

LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1849,

JUST published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at their Depository at the following rates:

For one thousand copies	$25.00
For one hundred copies	3.00
For one dozen copies	50
For a single copy	6

It is earnestly hoped that the friends of Liberty throughout the country will do all that they can to give this valuable work an extensive circulation. It has been carefully prepared, with special reference to the present highly important position of public affairs, and is eminently calculated for the diffusion of valuable information on the great question of Slavery, which now engages the attention of our entire nation.

Orders, enclosing the cash, will be promptly executed, and should be addressed to the Publishing Agent,

WILLIAM HARNED,

No. 61 John street, New York.

☞ Please be particular to designate the mode of conveyance by which the Almanacs are to be sent. Aug. 24.—tf

LAW OFFICE, COLUMBUS, O.

WILLIAM B. JARVIS, Jun., *Attorney and Counsellor at Law*, Columbus, Ohio. Office up stairs in Heren-court's Building, between American Hotel and Neil House.

Business connected with the profession, of all kinds, punctually attended to. Jan. 28.

NEW YORK READING ROOM.

FREE READING ROOM at the Publication Office and Depository of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, No. 61 John street, New York.—The advantages and accommodations of this establishment (superior to any other of the kind in this country) are positively free to all. In addition to all the Liberty party newspapers now published, will be found a variety of others, Anti-Slavery, *favorable*, and Pro-Slavery, comprising, in all, files of nearly one hundred weekly, semi-monthly, and monthly periodicals, published in nineteen of the United States, in Canada, Great Britain, France, and Holland. A special invitation is extended to friends and strangers visiting New York, to spend their leisure time in looking over this extensive collection of useful information.

The National Era is received at the Reading Room, from Washington, by the earliest mail, and single copies may be purchased every Friday morning.

Nov. 11. WILLIAM HARNED, Office Agent.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

For the National Era.

POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OVER SLAVERY.

No. 3.

The Constitution makes no discrimination of persons.

It is not meant by this that the Constitution does not recognise persons, as sustaining different relations to each other, and to the Government. This it evidently does. Females and unnaturalized foreigners do not sustain the same relations to the Government as males, and "natural born citizens." The relation of criminals is different from either. And masters and servants, (in the broad sense of these terms,) shipmasters and seamen, sustain a relation to each other upon which the Government may act, different from that of individuals who have placed themselves under no obligations to each other.

But in a more important sense the Constitution makes no discrimination of persons. The blessings it bestows are offered to all alike, of every name, and of every complexion. Females and foreigners, though they have not the right of suffrage in determining *who shall administer* the Government, have the same rights as others in the *benefits* of its administration. If they are injured, in person or property, within the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts, they have the same means of redress that others have. The Constitution, *properly administered*, would scatter its blessings alike to all. The master can claim of his servant *what is justly his due*, and the Government will enforce the claim; but if the rights of either are infringed, they both stand before the national tribunals on an equal footing, *as equal men.*

Such principles as the above are not new. They have been current from the time when the Government was first established. But they have never been understood to embrace the slaves. True, no one has ever shown that they do not. It has rather been assumed on the one part, and admitted on the other. But that those persons who are held in bondage in the States are really embraced in these principles, as entitled to equal privileges with all others under the Constitution, cannot be questioned. That the People *have a right* to elect a slave for President or Vice President, that the Government *have the right* to appoint slaves as foreign ministers and consuls, enroll and arm them as militia, and employ them upon the public works, in the navy, and in the transportation of the mails, cannot be controverted. Those provisions of the Constitution relative to these subjects have no restriction or limitation of persons whatever, applicable to slaves.

There are two provisions in the Constitution, however, which are claimed as so recognising the existence of slavery as to imply its constitutionality.

"ART. 1, SEC. 2. *Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed*, THREE-FIFTHS OF ALL OTHER PERSONS."

There has been much discussion on this provision, on points that I do not intend to discuss. I am willing to admit that the phrase "all other persons" refers to those who are held in slavery. It is important, however, to notice that their *personality* is thus distinctly recognised. The Constitution, therefore, whatever the States may do, *treats the slaves as persons.*

But all that I contend for here, is—*that this provision does not deny to any class of persons named in it* the common equal privileges of the People under the Constitution. It does not affect the *rights* of any class of persons. It simply provides that, in determining the *number* of Representatives to which each State should be entitled, "Indians not taxed" should none of them be counted, and only three-fifths of that class called "all other persons." And as Indians have never been denied the rights of personal independence and protection, so the same rights, so far as the Constitution is concerned, cannot be denied to the slaves.

It is perfectly obvious that this provision has no reference to the *administration* of the Government, but refers only to its *organization.* It is designed, not to prescribe the *duties* of the Representatives, but their *number.* Their *duties* are to be learned *in other parts of the instrument.* And therefore, unless *some other* provision, referring to the *administration* of the Government, can be found, which recognises the validity of slavery under the Constitution, the proposition at the head of this article is sustained. For, after a Congress is organized, and the members take their seats, this provision is of no force whatever. It is ended, and has no operation, except in the apportionment or election of the members of the next Congress. The *duties* of the members are just what they would have been, had these "all other persons" not been mentioned in the Constitution at all.

The other provision claimed as sanctioning slavery, is the following:

"ART. 4, SEC. 2. *No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.*"

It is on this provision that the advocates of slavery mainly rely, to prove its constitutionality. This was the only clause cited to this point by Webster, in the Mississippi case. The space to which I have limited myself precludes a critical examination of it. A few general principles relative to it will be briefly noticed.

1. If the phrase "persons held to service or labor" includes the slaves, it unquestionably refers also to other classes of persons. If I mistake not, it is only under this provision that apprentices, or seamen, escaping from one State into another, can be taken back. So that the terms, *of themselves*, imply nothing of slavery. For aught that appears in the provision itself, *all* to whom it applies may be *free men.*

2. But there can be no doubt, *as a historical fact*, that the framers of the Constitution *intended* by that phrase to include the slaves. The discussions incident to the subject in the Convention fully prove this. But the people had just obtained their own freedom—the universal opinion was, that slavery would soon be abolished by the States; and hence the general feeling was like that expressed by Mr. Madison—"that the idea of *property in man* should not be admitted into the Constitution." They therefore undertook to refer to the slaves without expressing the idea of "property in man." This, of course, was impossible; for there can be no slavery without *property in man.* This is its *only* distinctive element. Hence the terms they used do not describe slaves, but free persons only.

3. As the provision itself does not describe slaves, we have no right to apply it to them. If one replevins a piece of property, he must describe it; and if the description in the writ does not answer to the property claimed, he cannot hold it. So if the slaveholders claim a man as property, they must come under a provision of the Constitution that describes him as property. This section does not. Apprentices and seamen are "held to service or labor by the laws." But slaves are not. They are simply chattels, articles of merchandise. The laws of the slave States do not say that they shall "labor." The master may compel them to labor *by force.* But *the laws* have nothing to do with it. But the laws will compel apprentices or seamen "to labor," or exact damages as a penalty. The phrase "persons held to service or labor" cannot, therefore, be applied to the slaves.

I know we are not to give the terms any arbitrary signification. The rule, as adopted by the Supreme Court relative to another provision, is, that they are to be construed *as such words were at that time* understood "by the People." But such terms at that time were not understood as descriptive of slaves. I doubt if, among all the writings of those times, a solitary instance can be found where such language was used to designate slaves. In the resolutions of the old Congress, in the Ordinance of the Confederation of 1787, in the Constitution or statutes of those States where slavery was about that time abolished, as well as in all the current writings of that period, they are uniformly called "slaves;" *never* "persons held to service or labor." The meaning which the people of that generation attached to these terms, is a question of fact, thus to be settled.

4. Nor does the fact that the framers of the Constitution *intended* to refer to slaves, affect the question at all. *We are bound by no intention which they have not expressed in the words.* The question is not what they *meant* to describe, but what *did* they describe? Not what the slaveholders *intended* to do by that provision; but what *are we bound* to do with it? For we will not do any more in *subversion* of Liberty than we are obliged to do. If Shylock was not shrewd enough to get his contract for the "pound of flesh" *in the bond*, I think we shall not insert it now, though he can prove ever so clearly that he meant to do it.

Much support has been given to the construction of this provision in favor of slavery, by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Prigg case. It is not surprising that this Court, always in the hands of slaveholders, should give it such a construction. Judicial decisions are often wrong, and are often overruled in the trial of subsequent cases. And it is not too much to hope that, under a more thorough investigation, guided by a more correct public sentiment, our Constitution will yet be saved from being judicially interpreted as a covenant against the rights of man.

DANE.

For the National Era.

THOUGHTS OF THE FUTURE.

If, as priests, and sages, and prophets have told,
In mystic visions and legends of old;
If, as all mankind have darkly believed,
Ere the light of faith was on earth received;
That the spirit of man, releas'd from its clay,
Shall soar to the Master of Life far away—
And the soul of the righteous, the humble, and pure,
Shall dwell in His presence while Heaven endure—
O how blessed to die! and to fly to that Clime,
Where unfelt are earth's blights and the changes of time;
Where no grief intrudes, forever and aye,
"No faint remembrance of dull decay!"

I wandered alone on a calm summer even,
And thought of this home of the blessed in Heaven:
Far, far from the turmoils of this dusty sphere,
And the dreary glooms which encompass us here,
There the righteous bask in endless repose,
All forgotten their cares, all extinguish'd their woes:
They who here languish'd and toil'd from their birth,
They who had suffer'd and bled while on earth,
All have a mansion appointed them there,
Mid the fulness of bliss of that realm so fair.

The spirit, here clogg'd to its garment of clay,
Now bathes in the fountain of eternal day:
The sages and mighty bards of old,
Their minds' latent powers in splendor unfold;
Themes of glory arise on their unclouded gaze,
They shrink not before th' effulgent blaze:
In the boundless rapture of that blessed shore,
The bondage of earth is remember'd no more—
There Milton retouches his heavenly lyre,
While burning seraphs attend and admire:
There Columbus expatiates in visions of light—
The chains of a tyrant dwell not in his sight;
There Washington stands, at Wallace's side,
With a smile beaming down on the land of his pride;
There Franklin benignantly musing is seen,
With the grandeur of immortal truth in his mien.

And I thought, if summon'd now to die,
And permitted to soar to those mansions on high,
I would tread the black valley of death without fear,
Nor crave from earth's lingerers a sigh or a tear:
For, from painful, fathomless yearnings set free,
The goal of my limitless hopes I should see;
With the just of the earth, mid the amaranth bowers,
In high converse sit, and consume the bright hours.
O brows of glory! O eyes of light!
When will ye beam on my wondering sight?
When shall I list to your accents of love—
Oh! when will the shadows of earth remove!

Oh! Bard of my heart! if I reach that bright shore,
Shall we not meet when earth's strife is all o'er?
Shall I not then, with deep reverence, gaze
On thee as thou shone in thy prime of days?
Great Martyr of Life! high Prophet of Truth!
Light of my soul from my earliest youth!
Though unworthy the fate which to thee was given,
Though led astray by "light from heaven,"*
I believe thou art there, in that "Better Land,"
Mid blind old Homer and Milton's band;
That the hope which ruled thy mighty mind
Pass'd not away like the baseless wind;
That the chains of passion and misery riven,
Thou art there, with thy lovely lost "Mary in Heaven!"

A father whose cup was all bitterness here—
Is he there, where unknown is a sigh or a tear?
Do the rivers of gladness now flow in his sight,
Since it closed to the sunshine in misery's night?
And thou, who wast snatch'd so untimely away,
In the brightening dawn of life's glorious day—
My brother! the noblest, the kindest, the best,
Art thou there in that glorious Land of the Blest?
How oft have I stood in the lone churchyard shade,
And gazed on the spot where thy young form was laid,
And have said, "*Is this all?* Did thy life's fleeting day
Consign thee *forever*, to gloom and decay?
Oh! where are those graces that beam'd from thy mind?
Those high manly thoughts in thy bosom enshrined?
The pure light of goodness that dwelt in thine eye?
Oh! why were they given—if given to die!"
They are not for death! This poor earthly frame
Shall moulder away to the dust whence it came;
But the fire of feeling and thought in the mind,
Hath a higher, a nobler mission assign'd;
Untrammel'd shall rise from the mouldering urn,
And again to its own native heaven return!

O glorious hope! O rapture divine!
My God! my Redeemer! let this hope be mine!
Let it dwell in my heart, let it shine on my way,
Lest the meteors of Error allure me astray;
Let it be with me always, in life and in death,
That, when I shall calmly have yielded my breath,
Men shall say, as they point to my green grassy grave,
"He relied on that faith which is able to save;
And we trust he has ta'en his eternal abode
Where glorified spirits shout praises to God."

I. J.

* "*I saw thy pulse's maddening play,*
Wild send thee Pleasure's devious way,
Misled by Fancy's meteor ray,
By Passion driven;
But yet the light that led astray
Was light from heaven."
Burns's Poems—The Vision.

For the National Era.

"POSITION OF THE CHURCH."

MR. EDITOR: I read a communication in your paper of the 8th of June, addressed to John C. Vaughan, Esq., editor of the Louisville Examiner, headed the "Position of the Church," upon which I wish to make a few remarks.

I regard the subject of liberty—the emancipation of the slaves of these United States—as *the* question of paramount importance to us; compared to which, all others dwindle into insignificance—are only as mole-hills compared to a mountain. Consequently, it becomes every good citizen so to demean himself that he may wield the greatest possible influence in favor of the rights of man. It seems to be generally admitted, of late, especially among the more intelligent opposed to slavery, that *mildness* should characterise our efforts in this great work; and I would add, that *truth—simple, unsophisticated* TRUTH—is of equal importance. I believe that the cause of emancipation has been greatly retarded by the violent speeches of its violent friends; so it has also suffered, and is now suffering, from the hyperbolical style in which many speak and write on the subject. Truth, when largely compounded with falsehood, loses its power. The opposer, discovering a part of the cargo to be contraband, readily condemns the whole.

The communication to which I refer is written over the signature "Theophilus;" and I fully coincide in opinion with him, that great responsibility rests upon the church. She is truly the light of the world and the salt of the earth; and if her energies had been properly directed, from the time of the organization of our Government, the curse of slavery might long since have been banished our Heaven-favored land. But she has always been deeply involved in the sin of this wretched system. And it must continue to afflict and disgrace our nation until the *church* shall purify herself from its stain, and shine forth in her true light.

I also agree with him, that the ministers of the gospel are mainly chargeable for the existence of slavery among us. If they had all taken a proper stand against the institution—exposed its evil nature and tendency—it would have disappeared from the church, and no doubt from the country also, in quick succession. And I believe that even now, if the ministry would clear themselves from this sin, it would soon produce a tremendous change in the tone of public sentiment. They can and do wield a powerful influence, and especially for *evil.* If men will not always follow their good example, they will generally follow their *evil example.*

But I must now notice some things in Theophilus's communication which I regard as untrue, or greatly exaggerated, to say the least—things that will have a tendency, in many minds, to neutralize all the effect produced by those sterling truths, so happily introduced in the first part of his article. He says: "The churches in this country receive to the communion table great numbers of members who live in the *known* and *habitual* practice of concubinage and adultery." (!) This is a bold and sweeping statement; who can hear it? Many will think it savors strongly of infidelity too. I have spent thirty years of my life among slaveholding churches, and I never heard of such conduct being tolerated by any of them, even among the slave members. He adds: "These are the slaves who are *forced* to violate the Divine institution of marriage." If he meant by this that husbands and wives are forcibly separated by their owners, I readily agree with him; but if he mean that slaves are forced to live in a state of adultery, I think he will find it exceedingly difficult to get people to believe him. Hear another statement: "The Methodist church, South, has 124,000 such adulterers in her communion." This, I suppose, is the entire number of slave members. What, not one pious person among the whole number! Who can believe it? Many will regard this as a slander upon the character of these slave Christians. Some of the most pious and holy people I have ever known were slaves, the opinion of "Judge Graham" to the contrary notwithstanding. Again: "I will not stop to inquire whether it be a greater sin to allow these adulterous slaves, or their masters, who compel them to live in that state, to come to the communion table." I will stop to inquire, who ever heard of professed Christians *compelling* their slaves to live in a state of adultery? One assertion more, and I shall leave the subject. Theophilus says: "But here is fact well known to all men conversant with the subject, that hundreds of thousands of professing Christians in the United States are living in the practice of adultery and concubinage." If this statement is true, Theophilus ought to have given some proof of it, and it will require better testimony than the "*opinion* of Judge Graham," to satisfy the People that this charge on the American church is just.

Now, sir, I believe that this invidious, exaggerating, wholesale style of writing will injure the cause of liberty more than forty times as much as it will benefit it. It would be incalculably better to advance argument, and make statements that could not be gainsaid. But perhaps Theophilus means to convey the idea that, because slaves are not married by a clergyman, and their marriage not recognised by the laws of the States, therefore they are not married, and all such as are living as husband and wife are living in a state of adultery. If this be his view of the subject, I would ask him, where does the word of God make it necessary that marriage should be solemnized by a clergyman, or that the laws of the State should recognise it either? Or where, in all the word of God, are we told that any ever applied to a clergyman to marry them? The Bible history is, that such an one "took a wife." I have no doubt but there are hundreds and thousands of slaves living in as pure a state of wedlock as any people in the world; but that their owners frequently tear those bonds asunder, I have as little doubt. It does not prove, however, that they are living in a state of adultery, because their masters disregard their marriage relation. Let no man suppose, from these remarks, that I am either an advocate for or an apologist for slavery—far from it; yet I would be equally as far from using a false argument against it.

PLAIN TRUTH.

For the National Era.

EXAMINATION OF THE COLORED SCHOOL IN JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS.

This was a scene which truly deserves not to be hid in a corner; for well might many a child of favored fortune and Saxon skin blush, if brought to the comparison in intellectual developments. The colored population of this village is small, and the school numbers seventeen, from six to twenty-six years of age, taught by a lady of much intelligence and devotion to humanity. The present school has been in operation eleven weeks, and the pupils indicated commendable improvement. A brother and a sister, one six years old and the other nine, read in the Testament, spelling out only the harder words—and neither of these knew the alphabet eleven weeks ago. There was a general absence of that stupidity of expression which has by almost common consent been set down as the peculiar attribute of the African face.

After the exhibition of the mental acquirements of the pupils, an equally agreeable exhibition, on the part of the mothers, came off, in the form of a collation of pies, cakes, and other good things, with plenty of cold water

The body thus provided for, the fathers and friends gave free vent to their emotions of joy and hope, in view of the advantages their children were enjoying, contrasted with the privations of their own childhood. A middle-aged man arose, and, in language better than that used by many a Master of Arts, expressed his gratification, in view of the prospects for his children, who were there taught what never had been taught him. He had learned to read by stealth, at odd hours and at night, with no one to instruct him; and by the grace of God he could now read his Bible, the newspaper, and the history of the wrongs of his race. He believed that, with education, his race would produce minds as gifted and as useful as can be found in the present or the past. The beginning of such a realization he had never expected to see; but he rejoiced that his eyes were thus permitted to behold a foreshadowing of his hopes, to rejoice in the thought that these privileges were for his children, and not for some far-off generation.

An old man then arose, and remarked that he had never expected to see such a sight. He was raised in a slave State, and had himself been a slave in Kentucky, and had never been taught to read. Said he, "A fellow came among us, who could sorter read, and he said he'd like to get up a Sunday school; and he went round among the colored people, and talked with them about it; and we all thought we'd like it right well, if our masters would let us. So we all went to our taskmasters—the men went to their masters, and the women went to their mistresses—and, after persuading them a good deal, we got their consent; and so we came together, twenty or thirty of us, but we had no books to learn to read in. But we bought our own books with our own money; and this is the way we got our money: while our masters were asleep, we worked at night, and earned money to buy our books. Our masters didn't give us our books, for we bought them by working nights. We went on for about a month, and some of the white people came in to see what we were doing. They said that wouldn't do, and it must be put a stop to; but they thought 'twant best to stop it at once, and so they first kept away some, and hid their books. Some had their books tore up, and others had their books burnt, and so in a little while only a few came to school, and they had no books; and so the school was broke up. This was away in Kentucky—in Creesberg, in Stark county; and I thought 'twas no use to try any more, and so I can't read. But my children can read for me. It is slavery and ignorance that has made this prejudice against the colored race, and it must be freedom and knowledge that will take it away."

The old man sat down in deep emotion, and every countenance responded to his sentiment.

Several of the patrons of this school are property-holders, and pay taxes to educate the children of their white neighbors, while their own children are shut out from the benefit of any public fund. In England, all alike are taxed to support a religious establishment; and the reason why any are shut out from its folds, and a return of a due portion of the tithes which they pay, is, that they believe in something else, which they think is better, and that the benefits of the establishment would to them be *curses;* and we think this a very hard thing. Here in Illinois, all alike are taxed, in part, to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography—and, for neither choice nor crime, the colored man sees his children unprovided for, while he helps to educate the children of his neighbor, who looks down upon his ignorance with scorn. And, to crown the inconsistency, our wise legislators would pass laws adding still further to injustice, because, forsooth, the blacks are ignorant, and frequently troublesome neighbors! SPECTATOR.

Jacksonville, 1848.

For the National Era.

YOUTHFUL ASPIRATIONS.

BY L. D. JOHNSON.

Oh! once I loved the bugle's cry,
And panted at the war-drum's rattle;
And thought it glory thus to die,
When thunders shook the lurid sky,
And gleaming falchions flashed on high,
Amid the rolling smoke of battle!

'Tis strange that now, with beacon light,
Another star is brighter burning:
To be an Instrument of Right,
To lead the van of Freedom's might,
To break the clouds of woe and blight,
That shroud the slave in deepest night,
My heart is wildly, wildly yearning!

Fulton, New York, 1848.

For the National Era

SING SING, *July* 12, 1848.

FRIEND BAILEY: I take the leading Democratic papers of the State of New York, and see quotations from a great many others, and think that I can perceive in their tone and sentiment on the slavery question the marked influence of the National Era. We are forming in this State Freedom Leagues, and shall require an immense number of tracts, pamphlets, speeches, &c., and, so far as I can judge from daily intercourse with laboring men, (being one myself,) we have need of Theodore Parker's Letter to the People of the United States, in the form of a tract, and we also want the decisions of the courts of this country, and also of Congress, that show that slaves are not recognised as property except in the States where positive law ordains the institution, and declares them to be property.

The only defence set up here for the extension of slavery is, that they are property, and therefore the master has a right, as owner, to take them into the Territories.

The decisions alluded to by Hale, Tuck, and Giddings, in their speeches, are what we want, including Lord Mansfield's, in the Sommersett case. The decisions alluded to ought to be appended to Parker's letter, and William Harned, in New York, ought to keep them for sale. Thousands of copies could be disposed of at the offices of the Evening Post and Globe newspapers, in New York city, and at the Atlas office, Albany.

I am sorry to see that most of our Wilmot Proviso men speak of slaves as property anywhere. In the progress of right views of the slavery question, I can readily conceive that the time is not far distant when they will desire to convey the very opposite idea. Most assuredly the title to every man is in himself, and cannot be by any human law vested in another. The money value of a slave is not what his body is worth in fee simple, but what it is worth to rob of the labor of its hands. Slavery, you know, is but an institution of violence—an organized system of robbery. Long continuance does not change its nature or impair the original natural rights of its victims.

The world may be said to be divided between persons and property. To persons, or man, is given the dominion over property which may be said to have been created for his use.

God created man with an immortal part, and made him an accountable being. One man cannot assume another's accountability; neither has he any right to degrade and debase his fellowman, so as to cause him to sin. On the contrary, it is obligatory on civilized and Christianized man to enlighten and elevate his fellows.

A man, then, cannot be the property of another, until God divests him of his soul, and releases him of his accountability. In other words, property cannot have a soul, neither can it be transformed into a person.

If a man can be by force made the property of another, then it is force that keeps him property. But if the property rebel against the master and subdues him, then property, by some mysterious process, is divested of its own nature, or property qualification, and is no longer property. And it depends on the amount of brute force it can exercise, whether it be property or a person that holds or can hold property. He who was the master—proud freeman—by being subdued, undergoes the mysterious change, in the twinkling of an eye, of becoming property.

That which was a chattel, a thing, which was transferable as property, and possessed no rights of its own, by some lucky blow given, is changed into a pure person; and the former master and owner is knocked into property, and in turn becomes a chattel, a thing.

The master talks of his right to emigrate to free territory with his slave property. Why, if the slave on the road should *master him*, he would have no rights at all. It would all depend on who was uppermost when they entered the Territory, who was property and who the owner. Such is the law of slavery, and I think it is one of the Devil's own making. J. R.

WHAT WAS THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE BUFFALO CONVENTION?—Previous to the 9th of August, it was presumed by the more sanguine friends of the Free Soil movement, that there would be present from abroad, during the Convention, from thirty to fifty thousand persons. During both days of the Convention, it was evident to all that the number present far exceeded the most sanguine expectations, or even the hopes of its friends. The number has been variously estimated at from fifty to over one hundred thousand. It was reported in the train of cars east from Buffalo, on Saturday, that systematic efforts were made, during and subsequent to the adjournment of the Convention, for the purpose of calculating, as accurately as possible, the number of arrivals in Buffalo during and within a few days previous to the Convention, by visiting the hotels and boarding-houses, the clerks of the boats, &c. The result is stated to be as follows: that 107,000 persons had arrived in the city, of whom 75,000 attended on account of the Convention.

FOREIGN GLEANINGS.

THE MEN OF THE OLDEN TIME.—They (Egyptian antiquities) rebuke us sufficiently in showing us that at that time men were living very much as we do; without some knowledge that we have gained, but in possession of some arts that we have not. They confound us by their mute exhibitions of their iron tools and steel armor; their great range of manufactures, and their feasts and sports, so like our own. In their kitchens they decant wine by a syphon, and strew their sweet cakes with seeds, and pound their spices in a mortar. In the drawing-room, they lounge on *chaises-longues;* and the ladies knit and net as we do, and darn better than we can. I saw at Dr. Abbott's a piece of mending left unfinished several thousand years ago, which any English woman might be satisfied with or proud of. In the nursery, the little girls had dolls—jointed dolls, with bunchy hair and long eyes, as our dolls have blue eyes and fair tresses. And the babes had, not the woolly bow-wow dogs which yelp in our nurseries, but little wooden crocodiles with snapping jaws. In the country we see the agriculturists taking stock; and in the towns, the population divided into castes, subject to laws, and living under a theocracy, long before the supposed time of the deluge. There is enough here to teach us some humility and patience about the true history of the world.—*Miss Martineau's Eastern Life.*

FOR EVER!—That is the crushing, overwhelming thought—*for ever!* Name but a time—ten, twenty, thirty, forty years—when, should we live, we may have the lost one restored to us—see the form—hear the voice—feel the hand, if it were only for a brief hour, just to tell what has occurred in the interval, and recount the changes wrought by time; suggest but a hope of even this, and the bitterness of the separation would be unspeakably lightened; but when you say *for ever*—that come what may—come any change the most startling that can be conceived—but that no, the lost one can have no cognizance of it—cannot sorrow with us, though in the bitterest affliction—cannot rejoice with us, though our heart bound with highest exultation—that (at all events, as far as this world is concerned) he is gone *for ever*—oh, fearful thought!—oh, thrilling contemplation!—oh, agonizing, unendurable pang!—*E. P. Rowsell.*

The pangs that wicked men feel are not always written in their foreheads. Though wickedness be sugar in their mouths, and wantonness an oil to make them look with cheerful countenance; nevertheless, if their hearts were disclosed, their glittering estate would not greatly be envied.

We are not to choose for ourselves what parts to act on the stage of life, but to act those well which are allotted and appointed for us. It is a great misfortune that people so commonly amuse themselves with idle and imaginary schemes how they would behave, and what they would do, were they in such or such a situation. They would be very good and very exemplary, were they very great, very learned, very wealthy, very retired, very old, and the like. But they neglect the gift which is in them, and the work which is appointed for them, while they are thinking of that which is not. Alas! their state of probation is their *present* state, whatever it be.

If you desire to enjoy life, avoid unpunctual people. They impede business and poison pleasure. Make it your own rule not only to be punctual, but a little beforehand. Such a habit secures a composure which is essential to happiness. For want of it, many people live in a constant fever, and put all about them in a fever too. To prevent the tediousness of waiting for others, carry with you some means of occupation; for example, books which can be read by snatches, and which afford ample materials for thinking.

The men who have changed the universe have never achieved their object by gaining the Governors, but always by exciting the populace. The first method springs from intrigue, and produces but secondary results; the second is the march of genius, and changes the face of the world.

WHAT LONDON IS.—London, which extends its intellectual, if not its topographical identity from Bethnal Green to Turnham Green, (ten miles,) from Kentish Town to Brixton, (seven miles,) whose houses are said to number upwards of 200,000, and to occupy twenty square miles of ground, has a population of not less than 2,000,000 of souls. Its leviathan body is composed of nearly 10,000 streets, lanes, alleys, squares, places, terraces, &c. It consumes upwards of 4,369,000 lbs. of animal food weekly, which is washed down by 1,400,000 barrels of beer annually, exclusive of other liquids. Its rental is at least £7,000,000 a year, and it pays for luxuries it imports at least £12,000,000 a year, duty alone. It has 537 churches, 207 dissenting places of worship, upwards of 5,000 public houses, and 16 theatres.—*Western Times.*

THINK BEFORE THOU SPEAKEST.—First, what thou shalt speak; secondly, why thou shouldst speak; thirdly, to whom thou mayst have to speak; fourthly, about whom or what thou art to speak; fifthly, what will come from what thou mayst speak; sixthly, what may be the benefit from what thou shalt speak; seventhly, who may be listening to what thou shalt speak. Put thy word on thy fingers' ends before thou speakest it, and turn it those seven ways before thou speakest it; and there will never come any harm from what thou shalt say.

We all know upon how minute causes the temper and disposition of an individual may depend. A blight in the air, the east wind, rain, hunger, bad news, mortifications, the loss of fortune, or of those we love—these render us morose and sad, or fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils. On the other hand, a genial climate, the advance of the spring, gratified love, or successful ambition, above all, health—these render us jocund, happy, and complying, probably virtuous and pious; in short, fit for good works.

AN EFFECTIVE PREVENTIVE FOR HYDROPHOBIA.—In the event of a bite from an animal in a rabid state or otherwise, sponge and wash the part *as soon as possible* with clear water; then take good leaf tobacco, and make a bandage of it on the place bitten or lacerated; change the bandage three or four times a day for a week; this will effectually absorb and extract any poison that may have lodged itself in the part bitten. If leaf tobacco cannot be obtained, take strong manufactured cut tobacco, and use it in the same manner. In America, the Indians, in their travels through forests and prairie lands, always carry the leaf tobacco with them; and when they are bitten by serpents and other venomous reptiles, they use leaf tobacco in the way described; and it is an invariable antidote against hydrophobia and other fatal effects.—*R. M. Taylor, Gloucester.*

ORIGINALITY.—If we study great men, we shall find they were not so much distinguished by originality as by range or extent of thought. If we require of them that absolute originality which consists in weaving, like the spider, their web from their own bowels, we shall not succeed in obtaining it. No great man was original. Least of all does originality consist in unlikeness to other men. A great man is a centre of things—seeing the wants of other men, and sharing their desires—adds also strength of arm to come at their point. The greatest genius is the most indebted man—the greatest poet is a man in unison with his time and country. The great man does not wake up and say, I will square the circle—ransack botany and discover another food for man—I have a new architecture in my mind—I will foresee a new organic power. No; he is forced on by the genius of his contemporaries. He stands where all the eyes of men look, and their hands all point the direction in which he should go. He finds the materials ready to his hands—they have sunk the hills and bridged the rivers for his road. Men, poets, women, have all worked for him, and he has entered into their labors. Great general power, we might almost say, consists in not being original at all, but to the greatest extent receptive.—*Emerson.*

DETERIORATION OF THE POPULATION IN FRANCE.—We extract from a letter in *L'Union Medicale* the following passage: "All the writers on political economy and agriculture, who have published statistics, agree in thinking that the population of France is daily losing bodily vigor. If you inquire in the manufacturing districts, you will be told by the owners of the factories and works of all kinds, that the French workmen cannot do near so much work as the English or Americans. People connected with the recruiting of the army will also distinctly state, that at no period were there so many men unfit for service as at the present time. Does the cause of all this lie in the bad or insufficient food which these people use? Double and treble the number of hospitals and charities will not be efficient for improving such a state of things; they are mere palliatives. In the country they feed principally upon rye bread, buckwheat cakes, dry or fresh vegetables, dressed with a little grease, or cheese—rarely meat, and this in very small quantity. It has been calculated that, in the metropolis itself, every individual spends, on an average, only about £2 10*s.* sterling a year for animal food; and deducting the bones, the actual weight of meat will be four ounces per diem. It needs hardly to be added, that, according to this calculation, there must be for every individual who eats half a pound of meat daily, another who gets none at all. By applying this average to the population of Paris, it will be found that there are daily 500,000 persons who consume their half pound of animal food, whilst half a million do not taste any."

EAU DE COLOGNE.—We believe the truth to be contained in the following statement, which has been given us on good authority: A famous distiller, (if not the famous one,) Jean Marie Farina, died several years ago, and left his receipt and his business to two daughters, both married. The husband of one of these only carried on the business, and his establishment is at No. 129, Hoch Strasse. It is certain that the name has been multiplied in some cases at Cologne by hunting out persons named Farina, in Italy, who were made use of to give a pretext for putting that name on the bottles. But no descent will secure a supremacy in a manufacture which depends both on the quality of the essential oils used, and the proportions in which they are mixed, circumstances in which it seems likely that no two batches made by the same hand can ever perfectly agree. There are at least three manufacturers who stand pretty much alike in favor with the public, and, altogether, we believe the candidates for that favor number fourteen, of whom you hear the name of Farina. Several receipts have been published of this famous water; one by Dr. Ure was said to have been obtained from the inventor, M. Farina. According to this, sage, mint, thyme, calamus, angelica, camphor, rose leaves, violets, lavender, orange flowers, wormwood, all the spices, and no less than eight ethereal oils, combine their flavors to produce the unrivalled scent of the water. Another receipt names only the essential oils, leaving out the herbs and the spices. These are mixed with alcohol, and the whole gently distilled. There are now distillers of eau de Cologne in every large town, and every considerable chemist's establishment makes its own. Still the quantity made and sold at Cologne is very large. We did not hear a positive statement respecting it that could be relied upon.

Barfield's Industry of the Rhine.

THE PSYCHICAL HAND.—This hand is at once the most beautiful and the rarest, for beauty is of necessity rare. It is small and fine, relatively to the person; the palm of medium size; the fingers smooth, or very slightly undulated; the external or distal phalanx long and slender; the thumb elegant and small. When comparatively large and knotted, the person has energy and powers of combination, but wants *naïveté.* * * * To this class of hands belong Milton, Klopstock, Schiller, Goethe, Byron, Swedenborg, Richter, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Sand, Dickens, Devigny, &c.; they reign over the nobler hearts.—*M. D'Arpentigny, (Medical Times.)*

AN EXAMPLE TO BE FOLLOWED BY REASONERS.—He had a method of putting things so mildly and interrogatively, that he always procured the readiest reception of his opinions. Addicted to reasoning in the company of able men, he had two valuable habits which are rarely met with in great reasoners: he never broke in upon his opponent, *and always avoided strong and vehement assertions.* His reasoning commonly carried conviction, for he was *cautious in his positions, accurate in his declarations, and aimed only at Truth.* The *ingenious* side was commonly taken by some one else; the interests of *Truth* were protected by Mackintosh.—*Letter by the Rev. Sidney Smith on Sir James Mackintosh.*

In legislation, and indeed in our private conduct, there should be constant reference to great principles, if only from the exceeding difficulty of foreseeing the results in detail of any measure.

BUSINESS NOTICES.

☞ All communications relating to the *business matters* of the paper, &c., and particularly the names of subscribers, remittances, &c., should be addressed to L. P. Noble, Publisher.

☞ As this paper is not sent to any new subscriber, unless paid for in advance, the reception of it will be a sufficient receipt.

☞ Agents and others, in sending names, are requested to be very particular, and have each letter distinct. Give the name of the *Post Office*, the *County*, and the *State.*

☞ Orders are coming in daily for papers without the pay. No paper will be sent except the pay accompany the order. *Funds may be sent at our risk, by mail; taking care to have the letter put in an envelope, and well sealed*, directed, post paid, to the Publisher.

☞ Any clergyman who will procure four subscribers, and send us eight dollars, may have a fifth copy gratis for one year.

☞ Accounts are kept with *each subscriber*, and when we receive money from him on his subscription, it is immediately passed to his credit.

☞ Agents will notice that we keep an account with each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting moneys on which they are entitled to a commission, they will retain the amount of their commission, and, *in all cases*, forward the money with the names, so as to make the account even at each remittance.

☞ Agents and others who wish to send us fractional parts of a dollar, can now do so without increasing the postage, by remitting *pre-paid post office stamps*, which can now be obtained at any post office.

☞ Agents or others having funds to forward are desired, if the amount be considerable, to purchase of some bank a draft on New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Smaller amounts may be transmitted by mail, observing, when convenient, to send large bills on New England, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore banks. Do not send certificates of deposite.

☞ Mr. V. B. Palmer, at his newspaper agency, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, is duly authorized to procure advertisements for this paper.

☞ Within the last week we have received two or three requests to have the direction of papers changed, without informing us to what post office, county, or State, the papers have heretofore been sent. Without these, we cannot change the direction.

☞ We invite the attention of those who are remitting moneys to the publisher of this paper to the following table, showing the rate of discount on uncurrent money in this city. We earnestly hope that those who send money will endeavor to send such bank bills as are at the lowest discount:

Washington, D. C.	Par.	
Baltimore	Par.	
Philadelphia	Par.	
New York city	Par	
New York State	¾	per ct.
New England	½	do.
New Jersey	¾	do. dis.
Eastern Pennsylvania	¾	do.
Western Pennsylvania	1½	do.
Maryland	½	do.
Virginia	¾	do.
Western Virginia	1½	do.
Ohio	2¼	do.
Indiana	2¼	do.
Kentucky	2¼	do.
Tennessee	3½	do.
Michigan	3	do.
Canada	5	do.

ERIE COUNTY NURSERY—BUFFALO, N. Y.

FRUIT TREES, &c.—This old establishment continues to furnish every desirable variety of Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Roses, Hardy Herbaceous and Greenhouse Plants, at greatly reduced prices.

Our trees are perfectly hardy, vigorous, and thrifty, and are well adapted to the climate of the South and West; and situated as our Nursery is, at one end of the great Lake route, we are enabled to ship trees, at the earliest moment practicable, to any port on the Lakes, without risk of detention on the way—a fact worthy of consideration to purchasers.

Trees, Plants, &c., will be labelled and properly packed in bundles or boxes, and forwarded agreeably to order.

Persons ordering Trees, &c., and who are not familiar with the different varieties of Fruits, (after mentioning the number of apples, pears, &c., desired,) may leave the selection with the proprietors, who pledge themselves to send none but those of acknowledged excellence.

Orders accompanied by a remittance or satisfactory reference will meet with prompt attention.

Catalogues furnished gratis, on application.

A. BRYANT & SONS.
Buffalo, August, 1848. Aug. 24.

LAW OFFICE, CHICAGO.

CALVIN DE WOLF, Attorney and Counsellor, Telegraph Buildings, Clark street, Chicago, Illinois. Particular attention paid to collections.

Terms of Court, Cook County, Illinois.

County court—first Monday in February, May, and October.

Circuit court—second Monday in June and November.

☞ Demands for suit should be on hand twenty days before the first day of each term. Feb. 3.—1 yr. gr.

ATLANTIC HOUSE.

DANIEL PEARSON, Cabot street, Beverly, Massachusetts. May 4.

FREE PRODUCE STORE.

NEW GOODS.—*GENERAL REDUCTION IN PRICES.*—Just received—
Fine 4-4 Prints, various styles.
New styles of Prints of medium quality, usual width.
Fine and wide Paper Muslins; also colored Cambrics.
Curtain Calico, superior fine Chintz Umbrellas, Oil Cloths.
Satinets, good and cheap; also on hand, mostly at reduced prices, Ginghams, various qualities and styles.
Fine and heavy Shirting, Sheeting, and Pillow Muslins.
Striped Cambrics, fine 6-4 Plaid Muslin.
Mus'in de Lain, plain and neatly figured, all wool.
Linens, warranted free from cotton.
Flannels, 4-4, good, and price low; Canton Flannels, white and colored.
Table Diaper and Cloths, of different styles.
Apron and Furniture Check, Cotton Handkerchiefs.
Cotton twilled Pantaloon Stuffs; also, Linen Drilling, &c.
Long and Half Hose, fine and heavy.
Knitting Cotton, various numbers, bleached, brown, and colored.
Wadding, white and colored Cotton Laps.
ALSO,
Refined Loaf, Crushed, and Pulverized Sugar.
Brown Sugar, good quality, of various grades.
The whole stock exclusively FREE LABOR GOODS, to which the subscriber would invite the attention of Country Merchants, as well as his friends and the public generally.
Much pains are taken by the managers of the Free Produce Association to assist the subscriber to enlarge the assortment from time to time.
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
N. W. corner Fifth and Cherry streets,
3d mo. 23.—3m Philadelphia.

ECLECTIC MEDICAL INSTITUTE OF CINCINNATI.

CIRCULAR.—The next Fall and Winter Course of Lectures in this Institution commences on the first Monday in November, and continues four months, which is immediately succeeded by the Spring and Summer Course, which also continues four months. A gratuitous preliminary course will commence on the first Monday in October, and continue one month.

FACULTY.

B. L. Hill, M. D., Anatomy and Operative Surgery—ticket, $10.
J. R. Buchanan, M. D., Institutes of Medicine, Physiology, and Medical Jurisprudence—ticket, $10.
E. L. Jones, M. D., Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Botany—ticket, $10.
T. V. Morrow, M. D., Pathology, Theory and Practice of Medicine—ticket, $10.
A. H. Baldridge, M. D., Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children—*ticket, $10.*
James H. Oliver, M. D., Chemistry and Pharmacy—ticket, $10.
W. Beach, M. D., Emeritus Professor of Clinical Medicine and Surgery—ticket, $10.
Z. Freeman, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy.

Matriculation ticket, $3; for use of library, $2; graduation fee, $10. Demonstrator's fee, $5—optional.

Any student, by paying one hundred dollars in advance, will secure the right to attend as many courses as are necessary for the completion of his studies, (graduation and matriculation fees not included.)

This Institution was chartered by the Legislature of Ohio in 1845, and is under the control of an efficient Board of Trustees, who, in conjunction with the Faculty, have full powers to confer all the degrees that are conferred by any medical college in the United States.

Its classes have numbered as follows: in 1845–'6, 81; in 1846–'7, 127; in 1847–'8, 220—being now the leading medical college in Cincinnati.

All the departments of medical science are thoroughly taught by lectures, and a course of regular critical interrogations, in rotation, by each Professor, daily, embracing everything of value that is taught in the old schools, according to their standard authorities, as well as the reformed practice of medicine, with the new and valuable discoveries in the materia medica, and in the various modes of medication which experience has demonstrated to be useful and important. These doctrines and methods of practice present so much of what is novel and peculiar, as to give a new aspect to the science of medicine, and to qualify the practitioner to treat with success many diseases which often baffle the resources of medicine. Not only does the course of instruction present the results of the original investigations and discoveries of the Faculty of this College in the theory and practice of medicine, materia medica, surgery, and physiology—it also embraces their selection from all valuable sources. In short, the course of instruction and practice in the Institute is what its name indicates—*Eclectic;* selecting from any and every source such remedies and modes of practice as experience shall have shown to be worthy of adoption—being, in that selection, governed by the great leading principle of Eclecticism, of using only those medicines, means, and measures, which are not liable, under the ordinary circumstances of their judicious application, to produce injurious effects on the constitution of the patient; which principle excludes the preparations of mercury, antimony, and arsenic, as well as general depletion by the lancet, and many other deleterious agencies now in common use.

As many as six or seven lectures and examinations will be given daily. Interesting cases of disease will frequently be exhibited to the class, and students will be occasionally exercised in clinical examination and prescription, and have the privilege of frequently witnessing interesting and important surgical operations.

The theory and practice of Homœopathy, and also of Hydropathy, will be discussed by the professors of the theory and practice, and of the institutes.

Candidates for the degree of Doctor of Medicine must have attained the age of twenty-one years, and, in addition to the preliminary study, attended two courses of lectures on each of the departments of science, in this or some legally incorporated medical school, the last of which shall be in this, and shall be competent to sustain a thorough examination before the Faculty. Four years' reputable practice, and an attendance on one full course of this institute, also entitles the student to become a candidate for graduation.

One student from each judicial district in the State of Ohio will be educated gratuitously. It is the duty of the President Judge of the district to designate some poor but meritorious young gentleman for this situation, who will be admitted free, and charged only for the ticket of matriculation, which is three dollars.

Students are recommended to furnish themselves with one or more of the following books: Wistar, Horner, or Wilson, on Anatomy; Oliver, Edwards, or Dunglison, on Physiology; Beach, Eberle, or Wood, on the Theory and Practice of Medicine; Turner on Chemistry; Meigs on Midwifery Beach, Eberle, and the United States Dispensary, &c., on Materia Medica; and Cooper and Gibson on Surgery—as well as other standard works.

Good board may be had for two dollars or two dollars and fifty cents per week.

Students arriving in the city will please call at the residence of the undersigned, first door west of the Methodist Chapel, on Ninth street. Those desiring further information will please direct a letter, post paid, to

T. V. MORROW, M. D.,
Aug. 24.—3t Dean of the Faculty.

LAW OFFICE, CINCINNATI.

BIRNEY & SHIELDS, Attorneys at Law, corner of Main and Court streets, Cincinnati.

JAMES BIRNEY, Notary Public and Commissioner to take acknowledgments of deeds and depositions for the States of Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan, New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, New York, and Arkansas.
Jan. 6.—tf

LARD OIL.

IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Lard Oil of the finest quality, equal to sperm for combustion, also for machinery and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern cities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

GLENHAVEN WATER CURE.

THIS new and commodious establishment for the treatment, by Water, of Disease, is open to receive Patients. It is situated at the head of Skaneateles Lake, ten miles north of Homer, and two and a half miles from the village of Scott, in the State of New York. The house is large, commodious, and newly built. The springs are four in number, three of which rise on the mountain, on the west side of the Lake, six hundred feet above its level. They are pure, soft, very cold, and abundant. The scenery is very romantic, and the situation, for the invalid, delightfully inviting. Dr. S. O. Gleason and lady have charge of the medical department, and will give their attention exclusively to those seeking health at the "Cure." James C. Jackson and wife take charge of the business and home department; and all letters having reference to business, or to admission, should be addressed to Mr. Jackson, and the postage paid, when they will receive due attention. A general supervision of the means of comfort and the welfare of the patients is in the hands of a young lady who has been greatly benefited under the hydropathic treatment. We can accommodate nicely, for the winter, some fifteen or twenty patients. Our sitting room and dining hall are spacious, and front the Lake. Those wishing to try the Water treatment had better apply without delay, as in most cases winter treatment is equally successful with summer treatment, and in many cases greatly superior as a means of cure; and an early application will secure the best opportunities for location as regards rooms.

TERMS.—Five dollars per week, payable weekly. Patients wishing fire other than in the sitting room, can have one in their rooms, but will be charged each one dollar per week extra. Those wishing to occupy rooms singly, and have fire in them, will pay ten dollars per week, payable weekly. Washing and ironing in the institution, fifty cents per dozen pieces. Each patient must have one linen sheet a yard and a half square, two woollen blankets, three cotton comfortables, four towels, and old linen for bandages.

JACKSON, GLEASON, & CO.
Glenhaven, December 1, 1847. April 6.

OFFICE FOR PATENTS.

PETER H. WATSON, Attorney and Solicitor of Patents, Washington, D. C., prepares Specifications and Drawings, and solicits Letters Patent for New Inventions, in this country and in Europe, and transacts with promptness all business belonging to his profession; for which, his charges are moderate.

Having been a *Practical Mechanic*, he can readily understand the parts and judge of the utility of an invention, from a rough drawing and description; and persons at a distance, by sending their models, or a pen or pencil sketch, with a short description of their invention, by letter, may be informed whether it be patentable, and how the patent can be obtained without the expense and inconvenience of a journey to Washington.

Those who desire to send models, can do so with entire safety, by boxing them up and forwarding them by any of the Expresses which run between this city and almost every part of the country.

All models and confidential communications are kept with the most scrupulous care and secrecy.

Those who may visit this city, to make personal examinations of the Models of patented Inventions, Records, &c., preparatory to applying for letters patent for their own inventions, would find it to their advantage to call upon him immediately upon their arrival, as he can furnish them with such information as will greatly facilitate the transaction of their business, and materially aid them in securing their rights.

Letters Patent frequently fail to protect ingenious and useful inventions, and inventors are subject to vexatious delays and expense in obtaining them, in consequence of their papers and drawings being imperfect and insufficient. These unnecessary delays and extra expense may be avoided, and a strong and valid Patent insured, by the employment of a competent and faithful Agent, residing at the seat of Government, who has the advantage of daily access to records and other sources of information that do not exist elsewhere.

For evidence of his competency and integrity, he would respectfully refer to all persons for whom he has transacted business.

N. B. Letters must be post paid.

Office on F street, between Seventh and Eighth streets, opposite the United States Patent Office, Washington, D. C.
June 22.—3m

OFFICE OF CONSULTING ENGINEERS AND COUNSELLERS FOR PATENTEES:

FOR imparting information on the subject of Inventions, and on the application of Chemical and Mechanical Science to the Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Mines, and for procuring and defending Patents, either in the United States or in foreign countries.

Professor WALTER R. JOHNSON, late of Philadelphia, and Z. C. ROBBINS, of Washington City, (aided by HAZARD KNOWLES, Esq., late Machinist of the United States Patent Office,) have associated themselves together for the prosecution of the above branches of professional business, either in their office, at the Patent Office, or before the courts; and will devote their undivided attention to forwarding the interests of inventors or others who may consult them or place business in their hands.

Mr. Knowles has for the past twelve years held the post of Machinist in the United States Patent Office, and resigns that situation to take part in the present undertaking. His talents and peculiar fitness for the important office so long filled by him, have been fully recognised by inventors wherever the office is itself known.

The office of Messrs. J. & R. is on F street, opposite the Patent Office, Washington, D. C., where communications, *post paid*, will be promptly attended to; examinations made, drawings, specifications, and all requisite papers prepared—and models procured when desired—on reasonable terms. Letters of inquiry, expected to be answered after examinations had, must be accompanied by a fee of five dollars.

In the duties of their office which pertain to the Patent Laws, Messrs. J. & R. will be assisted by a legal gentleman of the highest professional character, and fully conversant with Mechanics and other scientific subjects.

Washington, D. C., June 1, 1848. 3m*

BOTANICO-MEDICAL COLLEGE OF OHIO,
CINCINNATI.

THE regular session of this College will commence on the first Monday of November. Agreeably to general custom free lectures will be delivered every day, during the month of October, on miscellaneous subjects, embracing particularly a critical review of the various medical systems now in vogue, and the character and tendency of their remedies.

FACULTY.

Anatomy and Physiology	E. H. Stockwell, M. D.
Surgery and Pathology	H. W. Hill, M. D.
Institutes, or Theory and Practice	A. Curtis, M. D.
Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence	J. Courtney, M. D.
Materia Medica and Therapeutics	J. Kost, M. D.
Chemistry and Botany	J. Brown, M. D.

Six lectures every day except Saturdays, when there are but three.

Price of the six tickets, $90; matriculation, $5.

This school believes in the unity of disease, as consisting in the inability of the organs to perform their healthy functions, and in the design and tendency of febrile and inflammatory action to remove the causes of disease. It rejects, for the healing of the sick, the lancet and every species of poisons, not only "in the ordinary circumstances of their judicious application," (as old school men and quacks have always *professed* to do, but) in toto, in all their forms and quantities, and modes of application.

It uses the most active and innocent agents in the threefold kingdom of nature, "according to the best of its ability," and devotes a large portion of its instructions to the *Divine Art of Preserving Health*, and *Preventing* nearly all the aches and ills that flesh is heir to.

This College has all the necessary accommodations and conveniences in its Lecture Halls, and abundant apparatus for the illustration of its teachings; and, in the might of the truths which they advocate, a Faculty that fear not to debate the questions of medicine with that of any other College in Christendom. Aug. 24.—5t

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

CENTRAL AGENCY *for the sale of Anti-Slavery Publications, No. 61 John street, New York.*—The subscriber, as Agent of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, would inform the friends of the cause that he has made arrangements with the publishers of standard works on American Slavery, whereby he will be enabled to keep on hand, for sale at wholesale and retail, a full supply of the Anti-Slavery literature of this country. There can be no doubt, that if the TRUTH, as it has been set forth by the advocates of emancipation, can be brought *before the minds of our fellow-citizens, the most satisfactory* results will be produced; and it is earnestly hoped that the facilities afforded by the establishment of this new Anti-Slavery Depository will be suitably appreciated and improved.

It is not deemed best to comprise in this advertisement a complete catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, Tracts, Engravings, &c., now on hand. It may, however, be well to say, that among a large assortment of Publications may be found the following:

Letters addressed to Professor Stowe and Dr. Bacon, by Rev. A. A. Phelps; Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy; Slavery Examined in the Light of the Bible, by Dr. Brisbane; Memoir of the Martyr, Charles T. Torrey; Slavery Condemned by Christianity, by Dr. Thompson, of Edinburgh; Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery, by Rev. A. Barnes; Voices of Freedom, by Whittier, fourth and complete edition; Liberty Minstrel, by George W. Clarke, seventh edition; Grosvenor's Review of Fuller and Wayland's Discussion; Home, written in prison, by Charles T. Torrey; Narratives of Lewis and Milton Clarke, Frederick Douglass, and William Brown; Memoirs of Archy Moore; Sumner's Lecture on White Slavery in the Barbary States; S. P. Chase's Argument in the Van Zandt Case; Spooner's Unconstitutionality of Slavery; Spooner Reviewed, by Wendell Phillips, Esq.; Goodell's Constitutional Argument; Alvan Stewart's Legal Argument; Condensed Bible Argument, by a Virginian; Facts for the People, by Loring Moody; Picture of Slavery, for Youth, by Jonathan Walker; the Church as it is, by Parker Pillsbury; Christianity and Slavery, a Review, by William Hague; Gerrit Smith on Sectarianism; Winona, the Brown Maid of the South; the Fanatic, (a Yankee Schoolmaster at the South;) Despotism in America, by the author of Archy Moore; American Slavery as it is, by Theodore D. Weld; Life and Writings of James G. Birney; Reproof of the American Church, by the Bishop of Oxford; the American Church the Bulwark of American Slavery; Slavery and the Slaveholders' Religion, by Brooke; the Legion of Liberty, second division; a variety of Anti-Slavery Tracts, Engravings, Handbills, Envelopes, &c.

It is confidently hoped that no friend of Human Rights, on a visit to New York, will think of leaving the city without supplying himself with a quantity of our Publications. Orders from all parts of the country, enclosing the cash, and specifying how the parcel may be sent, will be promptly attended to, by WILLIAM HARNED,
Feb. 3. Publishing Agent, No. 61 John street.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

☞ The Publishers of the Living Age annex a Prospectus of that work, and solicit to it the attention of the readers of the National Era. Those who wish to accomplish much in their generation must take a large view of what is passing around them—they must look over the whole of the age they live in.

PROSPECTUS.

☞ This work is conducted in the spirit of Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature, (which was favorably received by the public for twenty years,) but as it is twice as large and appears so often, we not only give spirit and freshness to it by many things which were excluded by a month's delay, but, while thus extending our scope and gathering a greater and more attractive variety, are able so to increase the solid and substantial part of our literary, historical, and political harvest, as fully to satisfy the wants of the American reader.

The elaborate and stately Essays of the *Edinburgh, Quarterly*, and other Reviews; and *Blackwood's* noble criticisms on Poetry, his keen political Commentaries, highly wrought tales, and vivid descriptions of rural and mountain scenery; and the contributions to Literature, History, and Common Life, by the sagacious *Spectator*, the sparkling *Examiner*, the judicious *Athenæum*, the busy and industrious *Literary Gazette*, the sensible and comprehensive *Britannia*, the sober and respectable *Christian Observer*—these are intermixed with the Military and Naval reminiscences of the *United Service*, and with the best articles of the *Dublin University, New Monthly, Fraser's, Tait's, Ainsworth's, Hood's*, and *Sporting Magazines*, and of *Chambers's* admirable *Journal.* We do not consider it beneath our dignity to borrow wit and wisdom from *Punch;* and, when we think it good enough, make use of the thunder of *The Times.* We shall increase our variety by importations from the continent of Europe, and from the new growth of the British colonies.

The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa, into our neighborhood, and will greatly multiply our connections, as merchants, travellers, and politicians, with all parts of the world; so that much more than ever it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries. And this not only because of their nearer connection with ourselves, but because the nations seem to be hastening, through a rapid process of change, to some new state of things, which the merely political prophet cannot compute or foresee.

Geographical Discoveries, the progress of Colonization, (which is extending over the whole world,) and Voyages and Travels, will be favorite matter for our selections; and, in general, we shall systematically and very fully acquaint our readers with the great department of Foreign affairs, without entirely neglecting our own.

While we aspire to make the *Living Age* desirable to all who wish to keep themselves informed of the rapid progress of *the movement*—to Statesmen, Divines, Lawyers, and Physicians—to men of business and men of leisure—it is still a stronger object to make it attractive and useful to their wives and children. We believe that we can thus do some good in our day and generation; and hope to make the work indispensable in every well-informed family. We say *indispensable*, because in this day of cheap literature it is not possible to guard against the influx of what is bad in taste and vicious in morals, in any other way than by furnishing a sufficient supply of a healthy character. The mental and moral appetite *must* be gratified.

We hope that, by "*by winnowing the wheat from the chaff*," by providing abundantly for the imagination, and by a large collection of Biography, Voyages and Travels, History, and more solid matter, we may produce a work which shall be popular, while at the same time it will aspire to raise the standard of public taste.

TERMS.

The LIVING AGE is published every Saturday, by E. Littell & Co., corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets, Boston; Price, twelve and a half cents a number, or six dollars a year, in advance. Remittances for any period will be thankfully received and promptly attended to.

To insure regularity in mailing the work, orders should be addressed to the *office of publication*, as above.

Clubs, paying a year in advance, will be supplied as follows:

Four copies for	$20
Nine copies for	40
Twelve copies for	50

Complete sets, in fifteen volumes, to the end of 1847, handsomely bound, and packed in neat boxes, are for sale at thirty dollars.

Any volume may be had separately at two dollars, bound, or a dollar and a half in numbers.

Any number may be had for twelve and a half cents; and it may be worth while for subscribers or purchasers to complete any broken volumes they *may* have, and thus greatly enhance their value.

AGENCIES.

We are desirous of making arrangements, in all parts of North America, for increasing the circulation of this work; and for doing this, a liberal commission will be allowed to gentlemen who will interest themselves in the business. And we will gladly correspond on this subject with any agent who will send us undoubted references.

POSTAGE.

When sent with the cover on, the Living Age consists of three sheets, and is rated as a pamphlet, at four and a half cents. But when sent without the cover, it comes within the definition of a newspaper given in the law, and cannot legally be charged with more than newspaper postage, one and a half cents. We add the definition alluded to:

A newspaper is "any printed publication, issued in numbers, consisting of not more than two sheets, and published at short stated intervals of not more than one month, conveying intelligence of passing events."

MONTHLY PARTS.

For such as prefer it in that form, the Living Age is put up in Monthly Parts, containing four or five weekly numbers. In this shape it shows to great advantage in comparison with other works, containing *in each part* double the matter of any of the Quarterlies. But we recommend the weekly numbers, as fresher and fuller of life. Postage on the Monthly part is about fourteen cents. The *volumes* are published quarterly, each volume containing as much matter as a Quarterly Review gives in eighteen months.

☞ Published at six dollars a year, by
E. LITTELL & CO., *Boston.*

LAW OFFICE, SYRACUSE, N. Y.

SPENCER & NORTH, *Attorneys and Counsellors at Law*, Syracuse, New York.
Office, Standard Buildings. ISRAEL S. SPENCER.
Jan. 28.—tf JOHN W. NORTH.

GLASCOE, HENRY, & WEBB,

COTTON and Tobacco Factors; Dealers in Blooms, Pig Iron, Pig Lead, Bagging and Rope, &c.; Commission and Forwarding—Columbia street, next to Broadway Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.
J. S. GLASCOE.
C. B. HENRY.
June 8.—1y E. WEBB.

PATENTS.

PATENT AGENCY.—All matters connected with the Patent Office, Drawings, Specifications, &c., accurately and promptly prepared and attended to.
Aug. 26. S. A. PEUGH, Washington, D. C.